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THE HISTORY OF THE HOSPITAL AND THE NEW COLLEGE OF THE ANNUNCIATION OF ST. MARY IN THE NEWARKE, LEICESTER

BY

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Ad divine laudis obsequium ecclesie hospitalium pauperum eriguntur, ut in eis que domus oracionis et pietatis existunt beatorum agminum suffragia implorentur, quorum presidiis Christi fideles adducti felicitatis eterne premia consequantur

Lambeth Reg. Islip, fo. 34*d*.

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GEORGIO FRANCISCO FARNHAM RERVM IN PATRIA
SVA LEICESTRIENSI OLIM GESTARVM INDAGATORI
INDEFESSO AB HAC LVCE EHEV IAM REMOTO
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AVCTOR PERGRATUS NVNQUAM IMMEMOR

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PREFACE

In 1910, when the present writer was preparing an edition of the Chantry Certificates for Leicestershire, printed in the *Associated Societies' Reports and Papers,* XXX, 463-570, he was led to make enquiries into the endowments of the Newarke college, and, in so doing, to examine with some care the sources for its constitutional and internal history. The account of this noble foundation and its possessions in Nichols' *History of Leicestershire,*[1] on which later notices of the college have been based, is conspicuously inadequate and not without mistakes; and the remarkable series of documents relating to it in the episcopal registers at Lincoln have been practically neglected. Considering their length and the time involved in the mere reading and collation of their contents, this is hardly surprising, and it was some time before the writer was able to complete transcripts of them from which it was possible to work. The result appeared in four successive issues of the *Associated Societies' Reports,*[2] and subsequently the full Latin text of the statutes, embodying a collation of the three versions, was printed in the *Archaeological Journal*[3] as an appendix to the writer's *Notes on Colleges of Secular Canons.*

On the occasion of the sixth centenary of the Trinity Hospital in 1931, it was thought that these papers might be republished in a single volume, so as to make them accessible to a wider public. For the time being the project had to be postponed, and in the interval the writer has had time to survey and revise his work with some deliberation. In the present volume the original text has been retained with corrections and slight alterations. Substantial additions, however, have been made, and in particular full translations of the statutes and ordinances have taken the place of the summaries previously given.

[1] Vol. i, pp. 329 sqq.
[2] Vols. xxxii, 245-292, 515-568; xxxiii, 178-215, 412-472.
[3] Vol. lxxiv, pp. 200-239.

To all who have made the publication of the present volume possible the author tenders his most hearty thanks. His special thanks are due to Mr. S. H. Skillington, whose interest in the history of the foundation has been manifested in his paper on *The Chantry House in the Newarke*[4] and in his account of the Trinity Hospital published for the commemoration in 1931. Mr. Skillington has been generously responsible for obtaining subscribers and making arrangements with publisher and printers, and has been the soul of the enterprise from its inception. To three friends, now deceased, the writer is greatly indebted. The late Archdeacon Stocks, soon after the publication of the original papers, made the earliest suggestion for their assemblage in book form. Mr. George Farnham, whose published collections for the history of Leicestershire are the most valuable contribution to the history of any English county which recent years have seen, laid his MSS. at the service of the writer and encouraged him with help and friendship; while the Rev. W. J. B. Kerr, later vicar of Irchester, supplied him with notes and suggestions. It is also sad to record that Mr. W. W. Smith, secretary to four successive bishops of Lincoln, and Dr. C. W. Foster, late canon and prebendary of Leicester St. Margaret's in Lincoln Minster, the unselfish friend and counsellor of a whole generation of scholars, are no longer here to receive the gratitude which is their due for giving the writer free and constant access to the documents under their charge. Among those who are still with us the kindness of Mr. Percy Davenport in lending the writer transcripts from wills proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and in the Archdeacon's Court at Leicester deserves special recognition: details derived from these have greatly enriched the footnotes relating to the deans and canons of the college. To Miss Marjorie Howden the writer owes much for invaluable help with the proofs and index.

In conclusion, after many years of work upon the history of collegiate churches in medieval England, the writer ventures to think that there is none which presents so complete a picture of the life of a college of secular canons in theory and practice

[4] *Assoc. Soc. Reports and Papers*, xxxi, 423-470.

as the Newarke college, and he hopes that this account of its history will stimulate interest, not only in the foundation itself which still partly survives in the shape of Trinity Hospital, formerly the Hospital of the Annunciation of our Lady, but in the type of foundation of which the college was so striking an example.

Adel, near Leeds — A. H. T.
31 August, 1936

I.

THE HOSPITAL OF OUR LADY

In 1330-1 Henry, earl of Lancaster and Leicester, steward of England, completed the foundation of a hospital in the town of Leicester beside his castle, in honour of God and the glorious Virgin and All Saints, and in special reverence of our Lady.[1] The date marks the conclusion of those struggles in which the earl, the grandson of Henry III and the third earl of his line, had been a prominent actor. In 1324 he had recovered the titles and estates forfeited by his brother Thomas in 1322, and had supported queen Isabel in her feud with Edward II and the Despensers. At the accession of Edward III he was appointed chief guardian and counsellor of the young king by common consent of the lords of the realm, but his position was usurped by the queen-mother's favourite, Roger Mortimer, and he was unable to gain access to his ward. In league with some of the chief magnates, including archbishop Mepeham, he raised an army against Isabel and Mortimer. Early in January, 1328-9, Mortimer's partisans came to Leicester and wasted the country round, destroying woods and parks, pillaging churches, and taking all the valuables that they could find. After eight days of plunder they marched southwards to check the advance of the earl, who was encamped at Bedford, accompanied by the chief supporters of his late brother, among them the king's uncles, Thomas of Brotherton, earl marshal, and Edmund, earl of Kent, Stephen Gravesend, bishop of London, and John Stratford, bishop of Winchester. The earl marshal, however, was well disposed to Mortimer; and he and the earl of Kent seceded to the enemy, leaving their cousin the earl of Lancaster to bear the stigma of sedition. This act of treachery made his submission imperative. Archbishop Mepeham arranged a concord between him and the king from which Mortimer contrived to procure the exception of some of Lancaster's chief supporters. It was felt, however, that the commons, faithful to the memory of earl Thomas, looked for their salvation

[1] The year of foundation is not always given rightly, and there are two distinct dates recorded upon the walls of the Trinity hospital, one upon the board at the west end of the chapel, and the other in the eighteenth-century inscription and the modern brass in the entrance hall. The royal letters patent bear date 4 April, 1330; the earl's foundation charter 20 Jan., 1330-1.

to the house of Lancaster; and the terms of the treaty provided for redress of their grievances in the next parliament. The earl's humiliation was only temporary. Spurred to action by the fate of the earl of Kent, who was tried and executed at Mortimer's instigation in March, 1329-30, he used his influence with the king to procure the downfall of the favourite. Mortimer was arrested at Nottingham in October, 1330: the peers who met in the parliament of 26 November condemned him without a hearing, and he was hanged three days later.[2]

It is clear that, whatever may have been the feeling of Edward III towards the earl of Lancaster during the events of 1329, the earl recovered his ascendancy when Mortimer raised his hand against the royal house. The earl of Kent was beheaded on 19 March, 1329-30. It is significant that on 4 April, 1330, sixteen days later, the letters patent were issued which authorised the endowment of the hospital at Leicester.[3] There is some indication that the earl of Lancaster for some time past had intended to provide a fitting burial-place and chantry establishment for himself and his family. Although he was not more than fifty,[4] he was losing his sight and felt the weight of advancing years.[5] His devotion to the memory of his brother was well known: he encouraged the popular hero-worship which made a saint of the far from faultless earl Thomas, and urged the canonisation of the martyr of Pontefract.[6] These considerations and the uncertainty of his own life amid the tragedy which had overtaken his brother and two of his royal cousins may have prompted him to secure the safety of his own soul and establish a permanent memorial of his house. On the north side of the high altar at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, close to the site of one of his castles, there is a canopied tomb of the early part of the fourteenth century, retaining much of its original colour, the heraldry of which shows that it was intended for one of his family. It is

2 Knighton, *Chron.*, ed. Lumby (Rolls Ser.), i, 447-51.

3 *Cal. Pat.*, 1327-30, p. 503.

4 It is generally supposed that he was born at Grosmont in Monmouthshire about 1281. His father, Edmund, earl of Lancaster, married Blanche of Artois in 1275, and his elder brother, Thomas, was born about 1277.

5 Knighton (i. 460) says of the year 1330: 'Eodem anno Henricus comes Lancastrie cepit construere novum hospitale juxta castrum Leycestrie . . . et comes cepit oculis caligare in cecitatem et senescere'.

6 For Henry's efforts for the canonisation of his brother see *Letters from Northern Registers*, ed. Raine (Rolls Ser.), p. 339 sqq. For the popular devotion to earl Thomas, see Wright, *Political Songs* (Camd. Soc.), p. 268 sqq., where an office is quoted containing the sequence, 'Pange lingua gloriosi comitis martyrium'.

contemporary with certain additions made to the chancel and with the large north chapel, which is equal in size to the chancel itself. The tomb was subsequently adapted to fit the brass of the rector, Lawrence Seymour (*de Sancto Mauro*), who died in 1337 and probably made the alterations in the chancel; but there can be very little doubt that the earl built the north chapel for his chantry and prepared the tomb for himself. No chantry, however, was endowed; and it is a fair inference that the earl, upon the turn of his fortunes in 1330, abandoned his design at Higham Ferrers and embarked upon his more ambitious foundation at Leicester.[7]

The licence of 4 April, 1330, authorised the earl to found a hospital in Leicester in honour of God and the Virgin Mary, and to construct an oratory and divers houses for a master and chaplains to be appointed by him and his heirs. The endowment consisted of the plot of land which was to be the site of the hospital, four carucates of land in Leicester, and the advowson of the church of Irchester, Northants, which the master and chaplains had licence to appropriate. The bull confirming the foundation was issued by pope John XXII to the bishop of Lincoln on 13 June, 1330.[8] This also sanctioned the appropriation of the church of Irchester.[9] The building was immediately taken in hand, and the earl founded the hospital by letters patent issued in London, 20 January, 1330-1,[10] for a warden, four chaplains, fifty poor and infirm folk, and a number of women not specified.[11] The site on which the buildings stood was four acres in extent. The grant, as in the licence, included four carucates in Leicester and the advowson of Irchester. Common of pasture for twenty-six oxen or cows and six horses at any time of year, with free ingress and egress, was granted to the warden and chaplains in the earl's park of Leicester called the Frith. All their animals, except swine in fence-months, might have common of pasture in all the earl's foreign woods of Leicester outside his parks. Two cart-loads of dead wood, or of branches when there was not enough dead wood, were to be delivered from his foreign woods every week to the hospital by view of his foresters. In the case of the Frith, the earl reserved the underwood for himself and his heirs, to be sold

7 See *Archaeological Journal*, lxix, 480.

8 *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 318.

9 A later bull confirming the earl's foundation charter and statutes, and dated 30 April, 1334, is calendared, *ibid.*, ii, 411. Probably by an editorial mistake, Irchester appears in this case under the disguise of 'Frencestria'.

10 Lincoln Epis. Reg. iv, fo. 132 sqq.

11 The actual number was five.

at their pleasure, a fourth part at a time: the space thus cleared might be enclosed by them for four years after the sale.

Detailed ordinances for the constitution of the house follow the endowment. In the original document they are arranged in a somewhat illogical and inconsecutive order; and in the following account, which embodies all their essential details, some slight change in this order has been made to give a clearer impression of the design which formed itself in the earl's mind. If they are not the composition of the earl himself, they were at any rate written under his close supervision, and bear witness to the high moral and religious ideal which we should expect from his stern and constant character; while their style is for the time a model of brevity and conciseness.

Five chaplains were to reside perpetually and lead a common life in the hospital, eating together in the frater and sleeping in the dorter[12] built by the earl to this end. One, the warden or *custos,* was to be presented by the earl and his heirs and admitted by the bishop of Lincoln, taking an oath to observe the ordinances and keep the rights of the hospital unharmed. The other four chaplains were to be admitted by the warden on the nomination of the patron, swearing to observe the ordinances and doing obedience to the warden, who was not to remove them without lawful cause. On a vacancy in the wardenship, the chaplains were to choose[13] a warden and nominate him to the patron for presentation to the bishop. If the vacancy continued for fifteen days, the presentation lapsed to the patron. He had the right of appointing one of the chaplains as temporary warden during a vacancy; but otherwise he was excluded from entering upon the lands of the hospital or intermeddling with its goods at such times, and could exact nothing from the chaplains but spiritual prayers and the rights defined in this ordinance.

A mark was allowed yearly out of the common goods to each chaplain for his clothing. The warden's yearly stipend was twenty shillings for life 'on account of his cure and his greater responsibility as regards matters of business'.[14] All were to have a comely round tonsure, with hair closely cropped above the ears and a wide crown.[15] The colour of their clothes was

12 Frater or Fraitour, the place of refreshment, was the name habitually given in the middle ages to what a later age calls a refectory. Dorter or dortour was the common name for a sleeping apartment, but the word dormitory was also used.

13 The word in the original is *optent.*

14 *Propter ipsius curam et maiorem solicitudinem in agendis.*

15 *Ita quod aures habeant patulas largamque coronam.*

limited to sad hues, burnet, pers or russet.[16] Their upper garments or supertunics were to be closed (*i.e.,* buttoned up) and to reach to their heels: close gowns or cassocks, the canonical dress of the medieval clergy, are implied. Above the cassock was habitually worn the black mantle or habit, in which the warden clothed each chaplain on admission: its distinctive badge was a white crescent moon with a star upon the left side.[17] This was to be worn everywhere except in church upon double feasts, when, like the vicars of cathedral churches, the chaplains were to wear surplices and black quire-copes.[18]

The duties of the warden with regard to the services in church may be left till later. As the chief responsibility for the common property belonged to him, he was to render an account of his administration twice, or at any rate once, a year to the other chaplains. If he suffered from old age and disease, the chaplains were to choose a coadjutor for nomination to the patron: if the patron consented to his appointment, the coadjutor became responsible for the yearly accounts. If one of the chaplains was in ill-health, the warden had the duty of providing him with a fitting helper and paying such helper during his stay. Community of goods was strictly insisted upon. The warden and chaplains were incapable of making wills: whatever property any left at his death was to go to the uses of the hospital. Their power of dealing with their estates was also restricted: no sales could be made or farms or corrodies[19] granted without the consent of the patron. The common seal was placed under three locks, of which the warden and the two chaplains most competent for the office[20] kept the keys, so that it could not be used without

16 *I.e.,* brown, bluish grey, or reddish brown.

17 Most hospitals had some such badge: thus the badge of St. Leonard's at Bedford was a red cross on the breast of the habit. See the plates illustrating the habits of canons regular and other persons attached to hospitals in Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres monastiques,* vol. ii, and other similar works.

18 Similarly, archbishop Thoresby gave the chantry priests at Newark privileges of dress, like those of the vicars choral of Southwell (York Epis. Reg. Thoresby, fo. 247). The general tendency at this period, when large bodies of chantry priests were common in parish churches, was to follow the standard of cathedral and collegiate churches in respect of their habit and attendance in quire.

19 Corrodies were shares or allowances in the common fund, which, when purchased as they often were, for a lump sum which brought temporary advantage to the sellers, became eventually a serious charge upon the resources of a religious house. See A. Hamilton Thompson, *A Corrody from Leicester Abbey, A.D. 1393-4 with some notes on corrodies, Trans. Leices. Archaeol. Soc.* xiv, 113-34.

20 *Idoneores.*

their common consent. Any mortgage of the estates was to be void *ipso facto*; and, if the warden and chaplains engaged in any dealings of this sort, they incurred deprivation without any right of appeal.

The statutes for the moral guidance of the chaplains were founded upon the earl's knowledge of those faults to which religious persons, as we know from numbers of episcopal injunctions delivered to monasteries, were liable to succumb. They were forbidden to haunt taverns or to walk in or outside the town without a companion or at any rate a serving man.[21] They were not to be brawlers,[22] provokers to wrath or contumelious. Women's society was to be avoided: there must be no talking with them in the hospital or elsewhere. No chaplain was to walk about the town by night, but all must come home at a suitable hour; nor might anyone walk through the market or market-place[23] without reasonable cause or leave from the warden. A chaplain incurring a charge against his good fame[24] on these accounts was to be formally admonished. If, after three such admonitions, he proved incorrigible, he was to be removed. Matters for correction and reform were to be discussed in chapter three days a week. The chapters were to be held in a suitable place[25] and in strict privacy, and at each meeting the warden was to enquire how each statute was observed. If any chaplain was found guilty of a breach of any statute, and therefore of breach of the oath which he had taken upon admission, he incurred disability *ipso facto*.

The statutes governing the appointment and conduct of the warden and chaplains are followed by prescriptions for the services of the hospital. The warden already had been enjoined to appoint two clerks to serve in church, and to provide the lights, vestments and vessels necessary for divine service. He also was to celebrate mass in his order, like the other chaplains. The services were to follow the use of Sarum. The obligatory masses

21 *Garcio.* 22 *Rixosus.* 23 *Forum.*

24 The technical phrase *defamatus* or *diffamatus* is used. A person so described was the object of a definite accusation of which he was required to acquit himself with the help of compurgators in the spiritual court. *Infamia*, the condition of the *diffamatus* or *infamatus*, implied more than suspicion or scandal and depended upon the testimony of responsible persons. See Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, tit. *de purg. can., c. Caeterum*, ad v. *compellant* (ed. 1679, p. 312).

25 In hospitals there was no regular chapter-house. Thus bishop Alnwick's visitation of the hospital at Brackley in 1442 was held *in cancello ecclesie*, and of St. John's hospital at Northampton *in vestibulo ut pro loco capitulari*. (*Visitations of Religious Houses dio. Lincoln* [Lincoln Record and Cant. & York Soc.], ii, 39; iii, 247.)

on ordinary days were the mass of the day, said without music, and a sung mass of our Lady. Other masses of our Lady and of *requiem* might be said at discretion. On feasts of nine lessons the order was reversed: the Lady mass was to be said plain, and the mass of the day sung. Matins and vespers were to be said on ordinary days and feasts of three lessons, with a sung antiphon of our Lady; but vespers of our Lady were to be sung every Friday and her matins every Saturday. In Lent matins were to be said as usual on ordinary days, but vespers, compline and mass of the day were always to be sung, and mass of our Lady was to be sung as well. This Lenten ordinance was intended to secure the regular attendance of all the chaplains in quire during the penitential season. Matins were to be said daily at the matin hour, which implies dawn.[26] The chaplains were also bound to say *placebo* and *dirige*, the office of the dead, during the day when they found time for it;[27] and at least one mass was to be said every day at one of the two altars in the body of the church, that is, in the nave outside the quire.[28]

The earl next proceeded to make definite provision for the sustenance of the fifty poor and infirm folk. Twenty of these were perpetual inmates, to be admitted by the warden to dwell for ever in a house adjoining the church of the hospital and specially ordained by the founder for this purpose. No money payment or consideration of blood-relationship or kinship was to procure their admission. They were to be chosen purely and simply for the worship and the honour of the Crucified and the glorious Virgin, from candidates who could plead poverty, blindness or lameness, or were stricken with palsy, had lost a limb, or were suffering from incurable disease. The warden was to supply them with a penny a day out of the goods of the hospital, and with a tunic and hood[29] every Michaelmas. At their decease,

26 Although the canonical hours were said regularly in colleges and in hospitals served by secular priests, it does not appear that the monastic habit of breaking up the night into two parts prevailed in them. The statutes of Sibthorpe college, Notts. (1342-3) prescribe the saying of matins and lauds followed directly by prime (York Epis. Reg. Zouche. ff. 91 *d.*-100*d.*), and at Fotheringhay matins were said, except on Christmas morning, at 6 a.m., and on the greater festivals at 5 a.m. (*Archaeol. Journal*, lxi, 248). At Ottery St. Mary, however, matins were said at midnight all through the winter months as late as 1423 (*Cal. Papal Letters*, vii, 277).

27 *Cum eis vacaverit.*

28 These altars were probably at the ends of the aisles of the infirmary hall.

29 *Capucium.*

their private property, if any were found, was to be applied to the use of the hospital.

The remaining thirty were temporary inmates, poor folk suffering from passing ailments and asking the alms of the hospital in charity. Such candidates before admission must be examined at the gateway by the warden, who was to satisfy himself of the seriousness of their complaint and hear their confessions before granting them the required relief. Each during his stay was to have a daily penny. If he brought anything of his own with him, it was to be surrendered to the warden for safe keeping, and returned to him upon his restoration to health and consequent departure; but, in case of his death, it became the property of the hospital. These thirty inmates were housed in the body of the church, where they could see the elevation of the Host and hear the divine offices.[30] Beds for them were provided by the earl, the maintenance of which was committed to the warden, so that there might always be thirty beds ready. When any were vacant the ordinary daily payments allotted to them were to be employed to augment the sustenance of the remaining inmates, so that the total payment remained regular and uniform.

The duty of attendance upon the inmates was entrusted to five women of good fame and untarnished reputation,[31] who were admitted by the warden to dwell for ever in a house adjoining the church. The daily allowance to each woman out of the common fund was three halfpence. On admission, she was to swear to serve faithfully all the poor and infirm in common. If she were convicted of a notable default,[32] she was liable to removal, her place being supplied by another, able and

30 The ordinary arrangement in hospitals and in monastic infirmaries. Examples are too numerous to mention; but the arrangement of the infirmary, hall and chapel under one roof may still be seen at St. Mary's hospital, Chichester, where the aisles are divided, as became customary in the infirmaries of monasteries during the later middle ages, into separate apartments or *camerae*. Sometimes, however, the chapel was a separate building, as at St. John's hospital, Oakham, and at St. John's hospital, Northampton. The chapel of the great hospital of the Holy Spirit at Lübeck is at the west end of the building, which is entered through it. The ordinary position, as in the present instance, was at the east end, the chapel being divided from the hall by an open screen. At Browne's hospital, Stamford, the chapel communicates with both floors of the main building.

31 *Illese opinionis.*

32 'Notable' (*notabilis*) is here used technically of a fault for which the offender is *notanda, i.e.*, liable to formal accusation. *Nota* is equivalent to *infamia*: see Lyndwood, u.s., tit. *de maior. et obed.*, c. *Presbyteri*, ad v. *nota*, and note 27 above.

of good fame.[33] Good conduct, on the other hand, ensured a permanent connexion with the hospital. If she became infirm and incapable of work, her place was to be supplied by another, but the warden was to make provision for her living until the death of one of the twenty incurables took place, when she was to succeed to his place and portion.

The ordinances conclude with an injunction to the warden to keep the poor folk supplied with fuel for cooking and with other necessaries according to their need, and with the order that these statutes were to be read publicly in common every Sunday, to prevent forgetfulness or any plea of ignorance. They were witnessed by Sir Henry de Ferrers, Thomas de Ferrers, John de Twyford, Richard de Redvers,[34] and Roger de Ouilly,[35] knights, and many others. Three days later, on 23 January, 1330-1, bishop Burghersh, then in London, ratified and confirmed them. Already, on 18 January, he had admitted the first warden, Thomas Burthyngbure, and committed to him the full administration of temporalities and spiritualities.[36]

It would be difficult to find a clearer account of the constitution of a medieval hospital than that which these statutes supply. Four classes of inmates are distinguished: (1) the warden and chaplains; (2) the twenty incurables or perpetual inmates; (3) the thirty temporary inmates; (4) the five serving-women. For each of these classes a separate dwelling is provided in close connexion with the church. The priests have their house with its common hall and sleeping apartment. There is the almshouse for the perpetual inmates and a smaller dwelling for the serving-women; while the beds for sick folk in need of temporary relief are ranged against the walls of the nave of the church. The services follow the course of the seasons, while daily honour is done to the patron saint of the hospital, and the founder and his kin are remembered in the daily office of the dead. The payments made out of the common fund, excluding expenditure on church services, amount to £91 3s. 10½d., a sum which must be multiplied many times to find a corresponding figure in money of the present day. The services, though plentiful, do not altogether fill up the chaplain's day. Matins, vespers and compline are the only obligatory hours:

33 *Potens et honesta.*

34 *De Ripar', i.e.*, de Ripariis.

35 In the papal confirmation of these statutes as calendared in *Cal. Papal Leiters*, ii, 411 (30 April, 1334) the witnesses' names are somewhat different, William le Blount taking the place of Thomas de Ferrers, and Roger de Ouilly (Doilly) appearing as Roger de Cuyssi.

36 Lincoln Epis. Reg. iv, fo. 131.

the daily masses to which the chaplains are bound are only three at most: the office of the dead can apparently be said privately by each chaplain at his own time. The chaplains thus have a certain amount of time on their hands; and, as neither study nor visitation of the sick is enjoined by statute, it is easy to understand that the precautions against moral temptations were necessary.[37]

The hospital thus founded existed for some twenty-five years without alteration in its foundation or statutes. The names of five wardens are preserved in the episcopal registers as follows, with the dates of their institutions:

1330-1, 18 Jan. Thomas de Burthyngbure, priest, presented by Henry, earl of Lancaster and Leicester, steward (*senescallus*) of England.[38]

1332, 2 Sept. John de Horncastre, priest, presented by the same patron, on the resignation of Thomas de Burthyngbury.[39]

1336, 31 May. Hugh de Scaldeforde, priest, presented by the same patron, on the resignation of John de Horncastre.[40]

John de Eydone. His institution is not recorded, but he was warden before 10 Oct., 1348.[41]

1349, 1 Aug. William de Knyghton, priest, presented by Henry earl of Lancaster, Derby and Leicester, on the death of John [de Eydone].[42]

Two months after the ordination of the hospital and delivery of the statutes, the founder had licence on 23 March, 1330-1, to alienate the advowson of the church of Duffield near Derby to the warden and his brethren.[43] Although the hospital was thus in possession of two advowsons in addition to its Leicester property, it could not appropriate the churches until the rectors resigned or died. The rector of Irchester, John de Clermont, had been instituted to the church on the presentation of earl Thomas on 20 December, 1313, and continued to hold the benefice until 1348,

37 How necessary they were in such foundations of secular priests is shewn by Alnwick's visitations of secular colleges, in which charges involving immorality take a prominent part.

38 See note 36 above.

39 Lincoln Epis. Reg. iv, fo. 136.

40 *Ibid.*, fo. 144.

41 *Ibid.*, ix, fo. 138.

42 *Ibid.*, fo. 297 *d.*

43 *Cal. Pat.*, 1330-4, p. 105.

three years after the founder's death and seventeen years after the foundation of the hospital.[44] His name indicates that he was a Frenchman: he probably resided abroad, and may have been one of the victims of the great pestilence which was raging upon the continent in 1348 and reached England towards the end of the year. Meanwhile the warden and chaplains were preparing for his demise and the addition which it would bring to their funds. On 15 June, 1340, they obtained a royal licence, at the founder's request, to alienate sixty sihllings of rent in mortmain to the bishop and forty shillings to the dean and chapter of Lincoln in recompense of the loss which they would sustain by the appropriation of Irchester.[45] Further, on 8 Feb., 1343-4, they had a licence to acquire lands and rent, not held in chief, in mortmain, to the value of £10 yearly.[46]

When the rector of Irchester died in 1348, the warden, John Eydon, applied to the bishop to have the appropriation confirmed and a vicarage ordained in the church. Bishop Gynewell issued his decree at Banbury on 10 October, 1348. The tithes of corn and hay were reserved to the warden and chaplains, with the pensions already mentioned to the bishop and dean and chapter. The vicarage was endowed with the tithes of wool, lambs, flax, hemp, the mills, foals, calves, geese, ducks, hens, doves, eggs, bees, traders and handicraftsmen, trees and gardens, all the oblations accruing to the church or its chapel, mortuaries and all other emoluments coming to the altarage or the church, thirty acres of arable land with pasture, the rectory house and rent assessed at eight shillings. The vicar's portion was taxed at 10 marks, to be deducted from the total taxation of the church.[47] He was to obtain seisin of a house situated opposite the rectory house,[48] within a year. Meanwhile the impropriators were to do all the necessary building. They were charged permanently with the repairs of the chancel and with the initial provision of books and ornaments, repair and renewal of which subsequently were to

44 The institution (John de Monte Claro, subdeacon) is recorded in Lincoln Epis. Reg. iii, fo. 125.

45 *Cal. Pat.*, 1338-40., p. 543.

46 *Ibid.*, 1343-5, p. 195.

47 The whole taxation of the church was 30 marks (£20). See *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 318.

48 The vicarage house is to the south-east of the church, on the opposite side of the road which runs through the village.

devolve upon the vicars.[49] The archdeacon's procurations were to be paid by the hospital. Synodals were charged upon the vicar, who also had to find incense, wax, bread and wine for the Sacrament of the altar, and pay Peter's pence, keeping any surplus for himself. The earl of Lancaster reserved the right of nominating the vicar to the warden and chaplains for presentation.[50] His nominee was Ralph Lavyngton, who was instituted to the vicarage on 2 March, 1348-9.[51]

The church of Duffield fell vacant at an earlier date than Irchester. A provisional deed of appropriation in 1332 reserved his dues to the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and safeguarded the rights of Tutbury priory in the church. Moreover, the earl provided that, upon appropriation, the bishop should have the right of collation of the vicarage. There had previously been a vicarage in the church, and when the new vicarage was ordained in 1338, it was endowed with the site of the old house with the garden and orchard adjoining. The hospital was charged with the erection of a new house. Tithes of milk, fowls, calves, pigs, geese, etc., with personal tithes of all parishioners using the parish church, Peter's pence, oblations, churching fees and mortuaries were reserved to the vicar. On 8 July, 1338, the bishop collated the vicarage to William Eccleshale.[52]

This was the condition and these the endowments of the hospital until 1355, when an originally munificent foundation was enlarged upon a princely scale. By the irony of fate, all that survives above ground of the buildings of this augmented establishment are the chapel and portions of the arcades of the hall of the hospital. The chapel and the two eastern bays of the hall, which were probably screened off from the rest to form the nave of the chapel, are of simple early fourteenth century design. The east window, formed of four lancets, the two in the middle higher

[49] Of this common arrangement with regard to the chancel of an appropriated church there is considerable evidence in the Exeter episcopal registers, edited by the late prebendary Hingeston-Randolph. A very usual method was to charge the vicar with one-third of the repairs. In 1460 the taxation of the vicarages of Heversham and Burton-in-Kendal, Westmorland, where the entire responsibility was charged on the vicars, was apparently arranged so as to cover the cost of casual repairs (*Yorks. Archaeol. Journal* xxx, 46, 47).

[50] Lincoln Epis. Reg. ix, fo. 138.

[51] *Ibid.*, fo. 131.

[52] Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iii, 130-2. It may be noted that there exists a papal faculty, dated 11 November, 1349, to bishop Gynewell to incorporate the church of Swalcliffe, Oxon, belonging to his income, with the hospital (*Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 356). This faculty however, does not seem to have been used.

than those at the sides, is an interesting example of conservative tradition in window design, and might be fifty years earlier than its actual date. There is a shoulder-arched doorway in either wall of the chancel, and west of each of these is a two-light window with a quatrefoil in the head. The two bays of the nave with their broad aisles are intact: of the rest of the hall only the north arcade, which of course continues that of the nave, is left, built up within the modern buildings and entrance hall of the Trinity hospital. The south wall of these buildings continues the line of the south arcade, which is marked by the construction of the wall in a series of tall arched panels.[53]

[53] For various papal indulgences granted to the hospital and to those visiting it see *Cal. Papal Letters* ii, 398, iii, 286 (cf. Lambeth Reg. Islip, fo. 24), 458, 259. In Lambeth Reg. Islip, fo. 34 *d.*, is an indulgence to visitors of the hospital, dated 22 August, 1350.

II.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE NEW COLLEGE

When Henry earl of Lancaster died, in 1345, his son Henry earl of Derby was fighting in Gascony. This famous warrior, the chief paladin of Edward III's army after the Black Prince, had been made earl of Derby in 1335.[1] Shortly before his father's death, he had celebrated the marriage of his daughter Maud, at St. Andrew's tide, 1344, to William, duke of Zeeland.[2] In 1345 he went to France, and Knighton's patriotic pages show the keen interest with which his doings were followed at Leicester. Fifty-two Gascon cities and castles fell before him in 1345, among them Langon and the good town of Bergerac with the infinite treasures which were therein and were said to include a great cask full of gold pieces. The count of Armagnac evaded him at Périgueux, but at Auberoche the earl met 30,000 French and in his victory took many noblemen prisoners. The news of his father's death found him in the middle of these exploits.[3] During the year of Crécy he went northward into Normandy,[4] returning into Saintonge and Poitou and taking Saint-Jean-d'Angély, Poitiers and other places in 1347. In the winter he went to England.[5] Soon after he laid waste the country around Calais.[6] With 800 men and 2,000 archers in his retinue, he kept princely hospitality at Calais. His expenses came daily to about £105, and, when Edward III made truce with the French king, it was reckoned that more than £17,000 had been met out of the earl's own funds, in addition to pay supplied by the king.[7] In 1349 he continued his raids in the south of France. With 30,000 Gascons he went riding to Toulouse, taking more than forty-two towns and castles, and setting the country in fire and flame for ten leagues round his course. At Toulouse he was promised battle if he would wait five days; the truce expired and he left the walls, burning the suburbs and wasting and firing his line of retreat.[8]

As a result of these remarkable exploits the earldom of Lancaster was converted into a duchy in 1350.[9] Much of the romance

1 Knighton (Rolls Ser.), i, 478. 2 *Ibid.*, ii, 30.
3 *Ibid.*, ii, 31, 32. 4 *Ibid.*, ii, 40, 41. 5 *Ibid.*, ii, 45-6.
6 *Ibid.*, ii, 50. 7 *Ibid.*, ii, 54. 8 *Ibid.*, ii, 66.
9 *Ibid.*, ii, 67.

of the duke's career was yet in store. In 1351 he made a raid from Calais, burning the suburbs and ships in the harbour of Boulogne, and sacking Etaples and 'Alnett'; but suffering a repulse from the folk of Thérouanne, who fortified their church and wounded many English. He came back to Calais, driving a multitude of cattle for booty.[10] It was about this time that he set off on a journey to Prussia, to join the Teutonic knights in a crusade against the Lithuanian heathen. His purpose was defeated, as the knights had arranged a truce, and, as he hurried north-eastwards, he was arrested somewhere in high Germany and ransomed only for 3,000 golden crowns. On his liberation he returned in anger to Cologne and complained that the duke of Brunswick had sought to detain him, a stranger knight on pilgrimage: it was also suspected that the king of France had a hand in the affair. The duke of Brunswick denied the accusation and challenged his slanderer to single combat, which duke Henry accepted. The lists were set at Paris, to which he journeyed under safe conduct with great honour, and met with noble entertainment on his arrival. Knighton says that the combatants were already on horseback, when Brunswick appeared uneasy and offered to give up the quarrel; but the duke, 'with a countenance cheerful and debonair',[11] insisted on proceeding, whereupon Brunswick offered a full apology through the king of France, and concord was made. From Paris, the duke, in lieu of many presents which the king offered him, carried home only a single thorn from the Holy Crown which St. Louis had enshrined in the Sainte-Chapelle. This notable relic was presented by him to his college at Leicester.[12]

It was apparently upon his return, bringing so holy a treasure to his father's hospital, that he first conceived the scheme of enlarging it. On 28 October, 1351, he obtained letters patent from Edward III authorising master Robert de Stretford, brother John Fortho, Thomas de Grove and William de la Chaumbre to take masons, carpenters and other workmen to repair the hospital and to stay therein at the duke's wages, and to procure timber,

10 *Ibid.*, ii, 68.
11 *Hillari vultu et eleganti.*
12 *Ibid.*, ii, 69-73.

stone and other necessaries at his charges.[13] The full scheme, however, was not matured till rather later. Meanwhile in 1352 he conferred various benefits upon Leicester abbey, then ruled by the distinguished William of Clown (1345-78), on whose virtues Knighton dilates with eloquent unction.[14] It was said of this abbot, 'the most notable and distinguished among all the lords of the realm in hunting the hare', that he found so great grace in all eyes that he was seldom denied a request. This power of persuasion, exercised upon the duke, procured the appropriation of Humberstone and Hungarton churches to the abbey: while the duke licensed the abbot and convent to inclose and impark their wood, and stocked their park with beasts from his own. For this purpose the pales of the duke's and abbot's parks on either side of the road to Anstey were broken down and the road closed with nets, and oats and hay were thrown into the road to attract the duke's beasts into the abbot's park. In addition to employing these enticements, the duke had beasts in his own park netted and driven in to stock the abbot's preserves.[15]

The bull for the erection of the hospital into a college with a dean and canons was obtained as early as 14 December, 1353.[16] On 4 July, 1354, the four clerks already mentioned in 1351 were placed by royal letters patent in charge of the works and work-

13 *Cal. Pat.*, 1350-4, p. 170. It is probable that Stretford was the master mason, Fortho and Grove the clerk and comptroller of the works, and Chaumbre, as his name implies, one of the duke's chamberlains, representing the *camera* or financial department of his household. Fortho was obviously a member of a religious order, possibly a friar; but more probably a canon of Leicester abbey. Cf. William of Wykeham's dispositions for the completion of the nave at Winchester, which was placed in charge of master William Wynford, the master mason, with one of the clerks of Wykeham's household to act as supervisor and paymaster, *i.e.*, clerk of the works, and one of the monks of the cathedral priory as comptroller (Nichols, *Test. Vetust, ii,* 766).

14 See Knighton, ii, 125-7. 'Hic bonorum operum sectator incessabilis, subditis et minoribus mitis et affabilis, maioribus et magnatibus regni inedicibiliter amabilis, vultus eius et presencia divitibus et pauperibus omnibus inenarrabiliter desiderabilis'.

15 *Ibid.*, ii, 74.

16 *Cal. Papal Letters,* iii, 490; the date in Lincoln Epis. Reg. ix, fo. 227, is 15 December. Cf. *Cal. Papal Pet.* i, 255. For a number of petitions by the duke relative to the college, granted by Innocent VI at various dates, see *ibid.*, i, 265-6, 273, 274, 341, 343, 361. In the duke's petition for the foundation, the archbishop of Canterbury (Simon Islip) and the Archdeacon of Richmond (Henry Walton) are nominated as co-executors of the bull with the bishop of Lincoln. In earlier petitions for indulgences and indults in connexion with the hospital (*ibid.*, i, 214-15, 237, 238) allusions to the duke's free chapel and the dean of the duke's chapel or principal chaplain, refer, not to the hospital, but to his household arrangements for divine worship.

men of the hospital which the duke intended to build with oratories, houses, and other habitations for the canons and chaplains to celebrate there for the souls of the king's progenitors and of the founder.[17] On 4 October, 1354, the duke made assignation in the presence of bishop Gynewell at his lodging in the Old Temple for the perpetual maintenance of a dean, twelve canons, thirteen vicars, six choristers, three clerks, a hundred poor men and women, and ten women to tend the said poor. His appointments amounted to £330 9s. 2d. sterling yearly or its value for the dean, canons and ministers of the college, and £277 18s. 4d. for the poor and the ten women. He bound himself upon his lands in Leicestershire: if the issues of the lands and tenements were not sufficient, the deficit was to be made up out of the property of the lordship of Higham Ferrers. The charter rehearsing this ordination is in French, and is dated from Sauvey castle on 6 October, 1354.[18]

At the Christmas of 1354 the duke, with the earl of Arundel and others, visited pope Innocent VI at Avignon. With 200 horses in his train, thirty-two being fully harnessed, he was received at Avignon on Christmas eve by 2,000 persons on horseback. From nine in the morning till vespers the city was crowded, and the bridge across the Rhône was impassable. During a stay of six weeks he behaved himself as a royal prince. A hundred casks of wine had been laid down in the cellar of his lodging before his coming, and he kept open house to the marvel of the papal court, who, pope, cardinals and all, agreed 'that there was not his like in the world'. He returned to England safely, although the French were said to have laid ambushes for him.[19] Soon after his return, on 4 March, 1354-5, royal letters patent were issued, by which he obtained licenced to build a 'monastery' in honour of the Annunciation of our Lady out of his father's hospital, and to ordain a college of dean and canons secular. On the same day he had licence to alienate in mortmain to the existing body of warden and chaplains of the hospital the manors of Inglesham in Wiltshire, Wollaston in Northamptonshire, Kempsford[20] and Chedworth in Gloucestershire, and the advowsons of Edmondthorpe[21] and Wymondham in Leicestershire, Higham

17 *Cal. Pat.*, 1354-8, p. 84.

18 Lincoln Epis. Reg. ix, fo. 283.

19 Knighton ii, 78-9.

20 Kynemersford: Kynemersdon in Somerset, some fifty miles away, becomes in modern spelling Kilmersdon.

21 Thorpe Edmer.

Ferrers and Raunds in Northamptonshire, and Preston in Lancashire.[22] Another version of this licence, vacated upon the patent roll, adds the manor and advowson of Hannington in Wiltshire, which became part of the possessions of the college. The warden and chaplains had licence to appropriate the churches.[23] During the summer the duke was with the king in France,[24] and it was not until 11 October, 1355, that he, being then in London, made a formal grant and confirmation of the manors and advowsons already mentioned, including Hannington, but excluding the advowson of Preston, to the warden and chaplains of the hospital, in pursuance of the royal licence of the foregoing March. Archbishop Islip and Thoresby, the second of whom was chancellor, bishop Edington of Winchester, treasurer of England, William de Bohun, earl of Northampton and constable of England, Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, Roger Mortimer, earl of March and marshal of England, and Henry de Walton, archdeacon of Richmond, were the illustrious signatories to this grant.[25] On 16 October, letters patent of the duke in French signified that he had empowered Robert de Burton and John de Claybroke, his attorneys, to give seisin of the property to the wardens and chaplains. Accordingly, during the early days of November, 1355, the warden, William Knighton, and Robert Burton went round the manors and churches. On the first Monday in November the warden took seisin of the churches of Edmondthorpe and Wymondham, on 5 November of the churches of Raunds and Higham, on 8 November of the church and manor of Hannington and the manors of Inglesham and Kempsford. When he went to Chedworth is not recorded. In each place Burton inducted the warden corporally into the glebes or rectories and the churches, or into the manors and their halls and barns. The names of the witnesses who were present at these formalities

22 Preston, with all Lancashire north of the Ribble, was until 1541 in the diocese of York and archdeaconry of Richmond.

23 *Cal Pat.*, 1354-8, pp. 184, 185.

24 Knighton, ii, 80. It was on this expedition that John of Gaunt received knighthood on board ship in the Downs.

25 Lincoln Epis. Reg. ix, ff. 283 *d.*, 284.

at Higham, Raunds and the Wiltshire and Gloucestershire places are given.[26]

All was now ready for the final act which was to convert the hospital into a college and substitute a dean and canons for the warden and chaplains. On 24 March, 1355-6, the eve of the Annunciation of our Lady, the duke of Lancaster, in the church of the new college, solemnly delivered his charter of foundation and endowment, in pursuance of the papal bull and royal letters patent, to the dean and canons, who were admitted upon the spot by bishop Gynewell. The witnesses who subscribed the charter and foundation statutes were William of Clown, abbot of St. Mary *de Pratis*, the great monastery of Austin canons on the north side of Leicester; four archdeacons, *viz.*: Henry de Walton, of Richmond,[27] William de Doune, of Leicester,[28] William de Loughtebourg, of Lewes,[29] and William de Grenburgh, of Stafford,[30] Nicholas de Colshull, canon of Wells, Roger de Burton, of Lincoln,[31] and Alan de Wayneflete,[32] of Beverley; two barons, John Mowbray and Adam Everingham; nine knights, John Mowbray,

26 They are as follows: in Raunds church (5 Nov.), John Permenter, Richard Woderove and John Faber of Raunds, priests; in Higham church, Robert de Isley Walton (*de Walton Ilsi*), Walter Templer of Higham, and Adam, vicar of Irchester, priests; at Hannington (8 Nov.), William the vicar, Laurence de Hanyngdon, Thomas Boclond, priests of Salisbury diocese, and John de Wheston, priest of Lincoln diocese; at Kempsford, the same witnesses, with the addition of Simon atte Hall of Kempsford, John atte Hall of Inglesham, and Robert de Borley, priest of London diocese These documents are in Lincoln Epis. Reg. ix, fo. 284 and *d.*

27 Archdeacon of Richmond 1349, on the death of Jean-Raymond de Comminges, bishop of Porto. The archbishop's mandate of installation bears date 18 July: Walton did obedience in person 17 Oct., 1351 (York Epis. Reg. Zouche, fo. 75). He was instituted to the church of Preston in Amounderness by bishop Gynewell acting as commissary for the bishop of Porto, 24 Sept., 1348 (Lincoln Epis. Reg. ix, fo. 372): this illustrates the cause of a curious error in Le Neve's list of the archdeacons of Richmond (*Fasti*, iii, 138). Walton died in 1359: the archdeaconry was collated to his successor, Humfrey Charlton, on 12 July (York Epis. Reg. Thoresby, fo. 288 *d.*)

28 Le Neve (ii, 60) gives the date of his collation as 12 May, 1354. See A. Hamilton Thompson, *The Will of master William Doune, archdeacon of Leicester* (*Archaeol. Journal* lxxii, 233-84).

29 See Le Neve, i, 262: he was archdeacon in 1355 and 1363.

30 Archdeacon after 1353: he quitted the archdeaconry in or before 1358 (Le Neve, i, 570).

31 Admitted to St. Martin's preb., 20 Oct., 1355 (Le Neve, ii, 185). There is no notice of collation in Gynewell's register.

32 Prebendary of St. Mary's altar, Sept., 1352 to Feb. or March, 1359-60 (*Cal. Pat.*, 1350-4, p. 323; York Epis. Reg. Thoresby, fo. 44).

the duke's nephew,[33] William de Walkynton, Robert de la Mare, John of Seynton, Theobald Trussell, Avery de Sulney, Richard de Vernoun,[34] John Talbot and John Longevilers,[35] and ten of the duke's 'donzels' (*domicelli*) or household esquires, Simon Symeon,[36] John Blount, John Rithre, Roger Perot, John Aldwincle, Thomas de Burton, Thomas de la Mare, Thomas Florak, Philip de Popham, and Robert de Grene.[37]

In the presence of this company and the bishop, the duke submitted the evidences of the new foundations, the bull, the royal letters patent, his own charters and the acknowledgments made by the retiring warden and chaplains. He assigned the dower of the old hospital, extended at 100 marks, to the new college. To this he added a new endowment no less than eight times as large. The manor of Kempsford was extended at 300 marks, Hannington[38] at 100 marks, both at least, Inglesham at 10 marks sterling,[39] Chedworth at 30 marks, Wollaston at 63 marks, 2s. 9d. Further, the five impropriations of Hannington, Edmondthorpe, Wymondham, Higham Ferrers and Raunds[40] were extended at 300 marks sterling. Thus the old endowment, now valued only at £33 6s. 8d., was increased to £302 2s. 9d. at the least estimate.

The statutes delivered upon this occasion will be discussed at length in the sequel. At present we may pursue the question of the earliest endowments. We have seen that the church of

33 John, son of John, ninth baron Mowbray, and of the duke's sister Joan. He was killed by Turks near Constantinople in 1358 on his way to the Holy Land.

34 It is this Richard who appears to have added the battlement and porch to the hall of his house at Haddon. The shields of himself and his wife, Juliane Pembrugge of Tong, Salop, are carved upon the front of the porch. He married in 1367 and died in 1376.

35 The founder of the 'college' of chantry priests in Tuxford church, Notts., an enlargement of a chantry founded in 1334 by his father, Sir Thomas.

36 More about this faithful esquire of the house of Lancaster will appear in the sequel.

37 The papal confirmation of the foundation deed bears date, 1 March, 1356-7 (*Cal. Papal Letters iii,* 585).

38 This place is in Wiltshire, south of the Thames between Highworth and Lechlade. Nichols jumped to the conclusion that it was Harrington in Northamptonshire, near Market Harborough. Inglesham adjoins it on the north-east, close to Lechlade. See Claude B. Fry, *Hannington : the records of a Wiltshire parish,* Gloucester, 1935.

39 *Cal. Papal Letters,* iii, 585, says 15 marks.

40 Preston is omitted, nor did it belong to the college till much later. By a conclusion similar to that noted in note 38, it has been confused with Preston in Rutland, near Uppingham.

Preston disappears from the list of the duke's gifts, and that the manor and church of Hannington take its place. These were given without a licence from the Crown, but, as will be seen, the dean and canons secured quiet possession[41] An important codicil to the statutes, bearing the same date, mentions a further grant, for which licence was not obtained until some time later, of two churches with their chapels in the Carmarthenshire property which the duke's father had acquired by his marriage with the heiress of the house of Chaworth. These churches were Llandyfaelog with its chapels of Llangyndeyrn, 'Lanlothegeyn' and 'Lankeneythen', and Pembrey with its chapels of Llandyry and 'Llancommour'.[42] On 18 May, 1356, the foundation of the college was confirmed by royal letters patent, and the dean and canons had licence to appropriate to the warden and chaplains of the hospital the churches for which licence had been granted.[43] On 10 June following the duke obtained a further licence to alienate in mortmain to the dean and canons £1,000 of rent out of the manors of Gimingham, Methwold, Thetford and Tunstead in Norfolk and King's Somborne in Hampshire, and out of his lordships or demesnes of Kidwelly, Carnwyllon, Iscenyn, Ogmore and Morganwg in South Wales.[44] It appears that £400 of this came out of the Norfolk manors, £400 from the Welsh lordships, and £200 from King's Somborne with its members.[45] By an indenture concluded between the duke and the dean and canons in their chapter house on 13 June, it was provided that the payment of this rent should be merely contingent upon any attempt of the duke or his heirs to disturb the college in its peaceful possession of the five manors and the advowsons granted with them, and of its site and other lands. Six advowsons are mentioned, Preston being counted as well as Hannington. Otherwise, the rent was to remain dormant, to be drawn upon in lieu of distraint.[46]

There is no mention here of the Welsh churches, and they do not appear upon the patent rolls until February, 1357-8. On 15 February in that year the duke had licence to grant to the dean

41 *Cal. Pat.,* 1358-61, p. 487.

42 Lincoln Epis. Reg. ix, fo. 291. The names in inverted commas seem now to have disappeared. Llandyry is called 'Lanthedury' in the original.

43 *Cal. Pat.,* 1354-8, p. 405. The papal bull of confirmation bears date 1 March, 1356-7 (*Cal. Papal Letters,* iii, 585-6).

44 *Cal. Pat.,* 1354-8, p. 30.

45 *Ibid.,* 1358-61, p. 487.

46 *Cal. Close,* 1354-60, p. 318 (18 July, 1357).

and canons in mortmain, for the enlargement of their dwelling-place, four and a half acres of land in Leicester, being part of his manor of Leicester.[47] And, on 23 February, the licence for the alienation of the two Carmarthenshire churches with their chapels was granted. This was specifically by way of exchange for the advowsons of Edmondthorpe and Wymondham, which were restored by the college to the duke and his heirs.[48] The churches of Llandyfaelog and Pembrey had already been formally appropriated to the dean and canons by the bishop of St. David's, but a petition to the pope to confirm their appropriation was received at Avignon in 1359, and was probably granted, with other indults to the college, in July of that year.[49] On 24 January, 1358-9, the licence to acquire land and rent to the value of £10 yearly, issued to the hospital in 1343-4, was renewed in favour of the dean and canons.[50]

The college had already entered into full possession of the rectories of Higham Ferrers and Raunds.[51] The appropriation of both churches was decreed by bishop Gynewell in August, 1357, and the vicarage of Higham was ordained on 18 January, 1357-8, when the last master of the hospital, William Mildrithe of Knighton, was admitted to it.[52] The ordination, the terms of which may be applied *mutatis mutandis* to Raunds, endowed the vicar with the meadow in demesne belonging to the church, tithes of lambs, foals, horses, sucking-pigs, ovens, demesne pasture, fisheries, mills, eggs, ducks, and all the other small tithes belonging to the church and its chapel of Chelveston. The dean and canons paid him out of the rectory four quarters of wheat, malt, oats and peas, one of each a year, and he took all mortuaries. To the dean and canons were reserved the tithes of corn and wool, of the lord's dovecot and orchard at Chelveston, the rector's dovecot at Higham and the herbage and orchard of the rectory, a yearly rent from the said church of Higham and the tenants of the same, and the tithe of the demesne vineyard at Higham. The vicar was responsible for finding chaplains and a clerk at Higham and

47 *Cal. Pat.*, 1358-61, p. 10.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

49 *Cal. Papal Petitions*, i, 393. For the other indults see *Cal. Papal Letters*, iii, 607, 608.

50 *Cal. Pat.*, 1358-61, p. 146.

51 Papal confirmation of the appropriation of these churches and of Hannington was granted 30 May, 1359 (*Cal. Papal Petitions* i, 341).

52 Lincoln Epis. Reg. ix, ff. 169 *d.*-171 *d.* Mildrithe was instituted to the third prebend in the new college on 24 March, 1355-6 (*ibid.*, fo. 321 *d.*).

Chelveston, for the supply of bread, wine, incense and light in both places, and for the payment of synodals, procurations and Peter's pence. The dean and canons undertook the construction of a vicarage house in Higham, with a hall, two chambers, a kitchen and a bakehouse, and a stable and garden adjoining for curtilage and other opportune purposes. While it was building, the vicar was allowed to use the rectory house. His portion in the church was taxed at ten marks. All other burdens, ordinary and extraordinary, devolved upon the college.

Towards the end of 1360 the dean and canons obtained a confirmation of their possessions from the Crown, with a pardon for trespasses incurred by receiving unlicensed grants. The grants summarised begin with the four acres for the site and four carucates of land granted to the hospital at its foundation, with the appropriated churches of Irchester and Duffield. It was represented that the dean and canons had occupied the meadows called Closemeadow and Marymeadow, each of eighty acres, as being annexed to the four carucates. The common of pasture specified in the foundation charter of the hospital had been granted without licence. Next comes the earl's gift of the New mill with its pond and water, with all the soil beneath the hospital garden and a fishery in the mill-pond. It also appears that the earl had granted the reversion of the manor of Chedworth to the hospital, expectant upon the demise of Richard Bernard. The gifts of the duke follow—the properly licensed alienations of the manors of Kempsford, Inglesham and Wollaston, and of the churches of Higham Ferrers, Raunds, Llandyfaelog and Pembrey,[53] the erection of the college, the £1,000 rent, and various unlicensed gifts, *viz.*, the manor and church of Hannington, two cartloads of wood weekly and five bucks of grease and ten does of winter yearly in the chase of Leicester, and a quitclaim to Richard Wynger and John Glide, chaplain, of the duke's right in two acres of meadow held of him as of the honour of Leicester, which they had given to the college. The dean and canons represented to the king, not only that their tenure of the unlicensed property was insecure, but that the wording of their foundation deeds was defective, as the deeds premised that both the hospital and college were in the town, whereas they were in the suburb of Leicester, and consequently grave prejudice might be done to their foundation. The king, reminding them that they had technically forfeited their property by irregularity

53 It will be noted that the Welsh churches take the place of Edmondthorpe and Wymondham, and Preston has disappeared.

of tenure, pardoned their trespasses and allowed them to retain the premises in frankalmoin for his devotion to our Lady and his affection for the duke.[54]

Almost on the eve of his death the last act by which the duke provided for his foundation, was to obtain licence to enfeoff eight trustees, of whom bishop Gynewell and Richard earl of Arundel were the chief,[55] of a large amount of property held in chief, the issues of which were to be applied temporarily to the completion of works of the college. This property embraced in Lincolnshire the castle, manor, town and soke of Bolingbroke, with the manors of Ingoldmells, Steeping, Sutton, Thoresby and Waith; in Staffordshire the castle, manor, town and honour of Tutbury, with the towns of 'Adgarest', Callingwood, Marchington, Newborough, 'Strepton' (*i.e.*, Scropton) and Uttoxeter; in Lancashire the castle and town of Liverpool, with the towns of 'Burgton', West Derby, Erusseby (? Crosby), Hale, 'Hardeslegh', and Wavertree; in Norfolk the manors of Gimingham, Methwold, Thetford and Tunstead, the hundreds of Brothercross and Gallow, and 39¼ knight's fees in various places, the advowsons of the abbey (*sic*) of Marham, the priory of Austin canons and the hospitals of God's house, St. John and St. Mary Magdalene at Thetford, a moiety of the church of Aylmerton, and the churches of Beeston, Bradfield, Edingthorpe, Mundesley, North and South Repps, Swafield and Trimingham; with two knight's fees in Westfield and Brantham, Suffolk, and four knight's fees which were said to be in Sussex. In the corrected form of the licence Wrangle is added to the Lincolnshire manors, and for the Lancashire property is substituted the hundred of Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire, with the manors of Higham, Raunds and Rushden.[56] Of this property, after the duke's death, the Lincolnshire portion with the exception of the manor and soke of Bolingbroke and the manors of Ingoldmells, Sutton, Thoresby and Waith, the Northampton and Staffordshire portions, and the towns, hitherto not mentioned, of Brassington, Hartington and Matlock in Derbyshire, were handed over by the feoffees to John of Gaunt and his wife Blanche, the duke's daughter.[57] The

54 *Cal. Pat.*, 1358-61, pp. 486, 487.

55 The others were Robert de la Mare, John de Bukland, John Charnels, Walter Power, Symon Symeon, and John de Neumarch. Walter Power had collation of the hundred shilling prebend in Lincoln, 23 March, 1349-50 (Lincoln Epis. Reg. ix, fo. 404), which he quitted in 1368-9 (Le Neve, ii, 129).

56 *Cal. Pat.*, 1358-61, pp. 575-6, 580.

57 *Ibid.*, 1361-4, p. 118 (18 Oct., 1361).

duke's other daughter and co-heiress, Maud, with her husband, William, count of Hainault, duke of Zealand and earl of Leicester, came into the possession of the Norfolk property.[58]

At this point we may pause for a moment to conclude the story of the founder's adventurous career. In the year of the foundation of the college he crossed to Britanny, and, joining the duke of Britanny, the two with a great multitude made an expedition to relieve the Norman castles of Charles the Bad, king of Navarre, whom the French king had put in prison as a dangerous intriguer who supported the English cause with designs of his own upon the crown of France. Going about the land everywhere at his will, the duke rode by way of Montebourg in the Cotentin and Carentan to Pont-Audemer, where the enemy abandoned the siege and left their engines behind. After victualling Pont-Audemer and Breteuil, he came to the stout and strong city of Verneuil, half in France and half in Normandy, and took it in a day. On the third day the castle surrendered before the duke's potent siege-machine.[59] The day after it was rumoured that the French king was only five leagues away, and the duke set his line of battle in order. But the king was not anxious to fight the duke, as the object of his advance was to come to blows with the prince of Wales. He sent two heralds with the message that, if the duke wanted war, he should have it. Henry answered defiantly: 'I and my fellows have come to these parts for certain businesses, and, God be thanked, have so far performed them well; and now I am returning thither where I still have somewhat to do by the way'. If the king tried to hinder him, the duke was ready to drive him back by force and go on his way. He would do nothing privily: 'that the king may know by what way I am going, I will light a lamp and leave it behind me'. King John declined the challenge, and went on his way to Poitiers, while the duke rode back into the Cotentin by way of Argentan and Thury-Harcourt. At the abbey of Saint-Fromond the French had broken down a bridge over a perilous water: eighteen Englishmen, says Knighton, rode in advance of the duke's army and overcame the 67 Frenchmen who guarded the crossing. Not a day passed in which the host did not take outposts[60] and prisoners.[61]

58 *Ibid.*, p. 114 (same date).

59 This is called *hordicium* (*hourdis*), a somewhat vague word, which may imply a wooden scaling-tower, but is more likely to mean a great pent-house of hurdles, beneath which a battering-ram could be brought against the walls.

60 *Fortiletta.*

61 Knighton, ii, 86-8.

In the autumn the duke gave up his favourite pursuit of 'riding', and about All Saints' day sat down before Rennes. His men suffered from the cold weather, but the siege continued till the midsummer of 1357. Charles of Blois, who disputed the duchy of Britanny with the house of Montfort, attempted to relieve the town, but went away without fighting. At last a treaty was made by the bishop, who, with six knights, was given a safe conduct by the duke to reconcile a suburban church which had been defiled by bloodshed. Henry was unwilling to grant a conditional surrender, but eventually agreed to receive the town with an indemnity of 100,000 crowns, letting the townsfolk keep their goods. He showed some forbearance for the conquered by staying outside the place himself, while one of his knights took seisin in his name : thus the sack of the town with all its attendant brutality was prevented. Meanwhile, the king had sent a messengers to recall the duke from the siege under the conditions of the treaty made after the battle of Poitiers : on Friday after Midsummer day they arrived to find the town taken.[62]

In 1358 the duke was back in England, leaving deputies in Normandy to look after the king of Navarre's strongholds.[63] But next year about Michaelmas he went into France before the king, landed at Calais, and took one of his rides through Picardy and Artois. On 29 and 30 November, 1359, Edward III held council with him at a place ten leagues out of Reims. They entered Reims and seem to have spent Christmas there. On the night of 29 December, the duke, with his son-in-law John of Gaunt, earl of Richmond, the earl of March and the doughty sir John Chandos, went out to scale the walls of Cernay-en-Dormois, a very strong place east of Reims, with a double ditch and mighty wall studded with towers and strongly garrisoned. In the morning the townsmen saw their advancing force and shouted at them. Nevertheless they rode on till they were near the town, when the duke left his horse and walked up to inspect the ditches. Forthwith the rest dismounted and on the spur of the moment took both ditches and climbed the wall with some difficulty Those who opposed them were massacred : others fled and were drowned in the ditches or the marsh. The castle was taken and the town set on fire. Two days later the duke advanced upon the towns of Autry and Meuran : Autry was said to be even stronger than Cernay, but the townsfolk of both places fled before their terrible foe. He put Meuran to fire and flame, and then returned

62 *Ibid.*, ii, 93-6.

63 *Ibid.*, ii, 99.

to king Edward, 'safe and sound with all his men, praised be God !'[64]

His deeds, however, were nearly done. The peace of Bretigny left him without an occupation, and during the Lent of 1361 he died at Leicester.[65] One of his last benefactions to the town with which his name is so closely associated was the grant of the liberties for fairs and markets obtained from Edward III at his instance; he guaranteed such liberties to the town for himself and his heirs upon the demesne of Wrangle in Lincolnshire.[66] His will, made on 15 March, 1360-1, and proved at Leicester Castle before Bishop Gynewell on 30 March, 1361, directed his interment in the collegiate church.[67] 'In the first place we commend and devise our body to be buried in the collegiate church of the Annunciation of our Lady of Leicester on one side the altar, over against the place where the body of our lord and father is buried, whom God assoil ![68] And we will that our body remain unburied no more than three weeks after the departure of the soul. And we will that, if we die at Leicester, our body be carried to the parish church[69] the third day before the burial, and that divine service be done there as is fitting with 23 torches,[70] and that twelve torches and two cloths of gold remain to the church, and the curates of the said church have our best horse or the price thereof by way of principal;[71] and that our body be carried thence unto the collegiate church of our Lady aforesaid, and be buried there as is aforesaid, in such wise that there be no vanity or parade,[72] as of armed men or horses with trappings or other vain things, but a herse with five wax tapers, each taper weighing a hundred pounds, and four great funeral lights[73] and a hundred torches round about the body, and that fifty poor men be clothed, five and twenty in

64 *Ibid.*, ii, 105-7.

65 *Ibid.*, ii, 114.

66 *Ibid.*, ii, 112.

67 The will is in French. It was proved in the court of Canterbury on 9 May, 1361, and there is a copy in Lambeth Reg. Islip, fo. 172. The text here translated is taken from Nichols, *Royal Wills*, 1780, pp. 83-7.

68 *Dautrepart le autiere ou le corps nostre seigneur et piereque Dieu assoile est enterrez.* The body of earl Henry had been translated to the new church and lay on the north side of the altar : the duke, as Leland afterwards saw, was buried on the south.

69 St. Mary's in the Castle.

70 So the copy in Nichols, but 24 is probably right.

71 *I.e.*, as a mortuary fee.

72 *Issint qil ny ait chose voine ne de bobaunce.*

73 *Mortiers.*

white and five and twenty in blue, carrying the said torches. And we will that our lord the king and my lady the queen be warned[74] of our burying, and my lord the prince, and my lords his brothers, and my lady dame Isabel,[75] and our sisters and our brothers their lords,[76] and the other great folk of our blood. And we devise fifty linen cloths to be divided among poor needy folk about the time of our burying in fashion as we have charged by word of mouth[77] some of our executors, if so many poor be there. And we will not that any cost be spared on the day of our burying, to give food to the people of the country or the commons of the town, and we will that persons of religion be well looked after.[78] And we will that, if we die elsewhere than at Leicester, our body be brought to the collegiate church of our Lady aforesaid and there buried in the fashion abovesaid. And we will and devise that all the wax and all the cloths of gold remain to the said collegiate church, and we wholly devise to the said church our chapel[79] with all its ornaments and all our relics. And we devise all our goods, silver plate and all our other furniture to pay our debts and reward our poor servants who have never yet been rewarded, each according to his deserving and his estate, at the disposal of our executors, and to finish[80] the said collegiate church and all the other houses devised and ordained round about the said church. And we will that, if our executors can be truly informed that we hold land which was of others and that our estate therein is such that our heirs cannot hold it honestly,[81] they pursue our heirs to give back the lands to those or to him to whom, him or them, they ought to belong of right.[82] And also that, if our executors can be informed that we have received wrong of

74 *Garniz.*

75 Isabel his wife, daughter of Henry, lord Beaumont.

76 Maud, wife, first of William de Burgh, earl of Ulster, and afterwards of Ralph de Ufford; Blanche, widow of Thomas, baron Wake; and Joan, wife of John, baron Mowbray.

77 *Charge de bouche.*

78 This seems to be the meaning of the passage, but the force of the repeated negatives is a little doubtful; *Et ne volons uncques qe nulles costages soeint faitz le jour de nostre enterrement pour pestre les gentz del pais nes les comunes de la ville, et volons qe religiouses soient bien regardez.*

79 *I.e.* the duke's private altar-furniture, hangings, etc.

80 *Perfaire.*

81 *Et qe nous ne avoms tiel estat qe nos heires puissent de bone foi le tenir.*

82 The French is rather mixed here: *a queux ou a qy eles devient ou doit estre de droit.*

others, they forgive it in discharge of our soul.[83] And, fully to perform and accomplish all these things according to our will and device abovesaid, we ordain and appoint our executors the reverend father in God John, bishop of Lincoln,[84] the honourable man of holy religion William, abbot of Leicester, our very dear sister the lady Wake, our very dear cousin of Walkynton, master Robert de la Mare, master John de Bokelond, sir John de Charnele, sir Walter Power, Sinkyn Simeon, and John de Newmarche,[85] giving them and each of them full power fully to perform and accomplish all the above said things in the fashion abovesaid. And in case that anything be in doubt and undeclared[86] in the said will, our executors shall have full power to declare all things in the same our will according to that which they feel shall be most pleasing to God, profitable to our soul, and according with our will and to reason. Also we devise all our goods which remain over and above our debts and over and above that which shall be given to our servants for a reward, and to finish our said collegiate church of Leicester and in aid of completing and accomplishing the houses which we have ordained there, to be put to the profit of our soul by the advice and assent of our said executors. In witness whereof we have set our seal to this our will together with our signet'. The will was composed at Leicester castle on 15 March, 1360-1, as already noted, a few days before the duke's death.[87]

The heritage of this paragon of knighthood was divided, as we have seen, between his daughters Maud and Blanche. The honour of Leicester passed to Maud and her husband. She survived her father only a short time: common report said that she had been poisoned in order to preserve the magnificent inheritance

83 *Et auxint qe si nos executours puissent estre enforme qe nous eions ewz dautri a tort, qils facent gree en descharge de nostre alme.*

84 Nichol, *i.e.* Nicole, the curious form taken by Lincoln in French, by a transposition of consonants.

85 All these names, except that of lady Wake, occur before either as witnesses of the foundation of the college or as feoffees of the duke's lands.

86 *Nemye desclare, i.e.* not plainly expressed.

87 It should be remembered that the duke, as warden of the Cambridge guilds of our Lady and the Blessed Sacrament, has a claim to be regarded as chief founder of Corpus Christi college, Cambridge, in 1352.

of Lancaster intact[88] Be this as it may the whole inheritance came by the death of Maud to John of Gaunt, and his wife Blanche. Thus the great duchy of Lancaster, more scattered in area than the French appanage of Burgundy but liable to become as formidable to the Crown, came back to a son of the king of England, and in the next generation became indissoluble from the person of the sovereign.

88 Knighton, ii, 115. A list of the advowsons which came to Maud as part of her share out of the duchy indicates her division of the property, *viz.*, Hartley and Mottisfont priory in Hampshire; Tibberton in Gloucestershire; Ribchester in Lancashire; the prebends in Newarke College, Leicester; Monmouth priory; Stoke and Wolstanton in Staffordshire; Combe abbey in Warwickshire; Llanelly, Llangeinor, St. Ishmael's, and Ewenny and Kidwelly priories in South Wales. John of Gaunt and Blanche had the advowsons in Yorkshire, *viz.*, Ackworth, Almondbury, Barwick-in-Elmet, Bradford, Campsall, Castleford, Kirkburton, Methley, Owston, Pontefract priory, St. John's Hospital, Pontefract, and the deanery and prebends in the Castle chapel at Pontefract; and Preston, St. Michael's-on-Wyre, Lancaster priory, and the hospital of St .Mary Magdalene, Lancaster, in Lancashire (*Cal. Close,* 1360-4, p. 205).

III

THE FOUNDATION STATUTES

We have now brought the history of the foundation down to the death of duke Henry, and, before proceeding further, it is necessary to examine the constitution of the college. In bishop Gynewell's register at Lincoln, in addition to the documents whose contents already have been summarised, there are two versions of the founder's statutes[1] and a special ordinance made by the bishop with the duke's consent.[2] All these bear the same date, 24 March, 1355-6; but it is clear that the second version and the codicil are due to a revision made by the bishop, and that the first is the text drawn up by duke Henry and submitted to the bishop for confirmation. The searching revision of the statutes made by bishop Russell in 1490-1 belongs to the later history of the college: for the present only the documents of 1355-6 will be discussed.

It is convenient to refer to the text of the original statutes, a translation of which follows here, as A. The statutes are not numbered, and the numbering followed in the sequel has been guided by the recurrence of the phrase *Item statuimus et ordinamus* or its equivalents as marking the beginning of each chapter. The marginal titles are an insufficient guide to the numeration, as they occasionally refer to clauses in statutes which needed special emphasis. They are useful, however, as marking the general character of each section. Where they do this, they are given here as footnotes.

As presented for confirmation to the bishop, the code assumed that the endowments into which the college had entered by the end of 1355 were sufficient for its maintenance on the scale contemplated by the founder. This, however, was not the case; and the bishop's scrutiny was followed by a revision in which stipends were reduced, certain statutes were omitted and some clauses were added and verbal alterations were made. The new text, distinguished here as B, became the authoritative

1 Viz., Lincoln Epis. Reg. ix, ff. 277 *d*, 282 *d*, and 285-291.

2 Ibid., fo. 291 and *d*. It would be tempting to institute a detailed comparison between the statutes of this college and those of the college of Fotheringhay, founded in 1411. The full text of the latter, edited by the present writer, will be found in *Archaeol. Journal* LXXV, 241-309.

text upon which a later revision was founded in 1491. But, as already noted, B shortly afterwards, owing to the founder's grant of additional sources of endowment, was provided with a codicil, containing statutes which restored the subtractions made from stipends and allowances, with some modifications and additions. No dates mark the progress of recension, and both codes bear the same date, 24 March, 1355-6, which marks the conclusion of proceedings and the inception of the corporate life of the college. In its final form with the codicil, B fulfils the intentions expressed by the founder in A, and the differences between the two codes are very slight. It was for this reason that both versions, the old and new, were sealed and witnessed simultaneously: B, while removing a few superfluities, does not abrogate A, but treats it as its own source and origin to which points needing interpretation may be referred in future.

In the following translation merely formal repetitions of words and phrases have been omitted for the sake of conciseness, save where their appearance is necessary to avoid ambiguity or to bring out some detail which their omission might obscure. The full Latin text with that of the associated documents has been printed in *Archaeol. Journal,* LXXIV, 200-239, as an appendix to the present writer's *Notes on Colleges of Secular Canons in England.*

1. THEY THAT ARE TO BE PREFERRED SHALL BE PRIESTS

The dean, canons and vicars, all and sundry, at the time of their institution and admission should be persons already in priests' orders.

2. BY WHAT NAME THE PREBENDS SHALL BE ENTITLED

Also, as it is plainly known to have been established by us in the preceding letters[3] that there should be thirteen[4] canons of the collegiate church aforesaid, so, in accordance with canonical traditions, there should be only thirteen prebends in the same, to be entitled under the following names, to wit, the first,

[3] Altered in 1491 to "established in preceding years". For the text of the letters referred to see *Archaeol. Journal,* u.s.

[4] The duke recognised thirteen as the proper number, *sic sequendo traditiones canonum tresdecim tantum esse debere,* doubtless in imitation of the number of our Lord and the twelve apostles. Thirteen, *e.g.,* was the number at Fotheringhay. In Leicestershire the chantry college of thirteen priests at Kirkby Bellars was transformed in 1359 into a monastery of thirteen Austin canons.

the second [*etc., in order to*] the thirteenth,[5] of which the first, on the south side [of the choir] shall be for ever annexed to the dean as the principal canon, and to his canonry and prebend.[6]

3. THE OFFICERS OF THE CHURCH

Certain of the canons shall be severally preferred in manner and form hereunder denoted, to be provost,[7] sacrist and almoner, who, having been thus elected, shall be compelled by the dean to undertake the same offices, under pain of amotion from the canonries and prebends which they hold, if they will not accept such offices gratefully and with affection.

4. ASSIGNATION OF STALLS TO THE DEAN, ETC.

The dean shall have the first stall on the right-hand side in choir, and the provost the second on the same side, the sacrist the first on the left-hand side,[8] and the almoner the second on the same side for the time wherein they shall be in charge of such offices, [such stalls being] entitled [by such names].

In B the assignment of special stalls to the provost, sacrist and almoner was cancelled, and the statute reads: "The dean shall have the first stall on the right-hand side in choir, and shall have his stall entitled with the name of his deanery and canonry, and the other canons shall have the other stalls [entitled] with the names of their prebends".[9]

5. ASSIGNATION OF THE REVENUES OF THE DEANERY AND PREBEND ANNEXED, WITH THE TERMS OF PAYMENTS

The dean for the time being shall receive yearly at the hands of the provost, as the portion of his deanery and in its name forty marks sterling, and as that of his canonry and prebend twenty marks sterling, at four terms of the year, to wit on the first of November, the first of February, the first of May and

[5] In the neighbouring church of St. Mary's in the Castle the prebends were styled by the letters of the alphabet from A to H. An example of numbered prebends is found in the great prebend of Combe in Wells cathedral, divided into fifteen numbered portions under a provost and forming a college within the chapter.

[6] B omits "and prebend".

[7] *Prepositus.*

[8] This stall was usually appropriated in cathedral and collegiate churches to the precentor. In 1491 the title of the sacrist was changed to precentor, and that of the almoner to treasurer.

[9] *I.e.,* the dean's stall bore the inscription "Decanus. Prima prebenda", the rest "Secunda prebenda", *etc.* The arrangement was probably on the right-hand side, Dean, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13; on the left-hand 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, 12. The alteration in B was made very awkwardly, and its errors were corrected in 1491.

the first of August, by equal portions payable in cash or in other goods, if the dean will accept such goods in payment of their equivalent money value, according to the estimate then current in those parts,[10] for his sustenance and for the support of all the charges incumbent upon him, for ever.

The stipend of the canonry was altered in B to ten marks, for reasons explained in the codicil to B. See 77 below.

6. ASSIGNMENT OF THE REVENUES OF THE OTHER PREBENDS

Each of the other canons, in the name of and as his prebend, shall receive yearly twenty marks sterling in cash or other goods in manner aforesaid for ever, to be paid in equal portions by the hands of the provost at the aforesaid terms.

The sum was reduced to ten marks in B, but was raised to fifteen and conditionally restored to twenty in the codicil. See 79, 80 below.

7. THE RECOMPENSE OF THE PROVOST FOR HIS LABOURS

Nevertheless the provost, for the due support of the charges, hereinafter to be described, incumbent upon the office of the provostry, shall yearly keep for himself out of the goods of the church, in recompense of his labours, ten marks of the said money[11] in cash or in other goods, by equal portions at the said terms.

The sum was reduced to five marks in B, but restored to ten in the codicil. See 81 below.

8. ASSIGNMENT OF REVENUES FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE SACRIST'S CHARGES IN HIS OFFICE

The sacrist, for the efficacious and due support of the charges, hereinafter to be described, incumbent upon the office of the sacristy, shall yearly receive twenty marks sterling, over and above the portion of his prebend, in cash or in other goods in manner aforesaid at the hands of the provost at the four terms of the year above specified, by equal portions.

The sum was reduced to twenty shillings in B. See 83 below.

9. ASSIGNMENT OF THE VICAR'S STIPENDS

Each of the vicars who is at the high mass in choir on Saturday in each week, immediately after the offertory at the Gospel,[12] shall yearly receive, in the name of his vicarage and

10 *Juxta estimacionem rerum huiusmodi in illa patria tunc currentem.*
11 *I.e.*, sterling.
12 *Statim post offertorium evangelij.*

as his stipend for the preceding week, twelve pence, and each of them, for his clothing and other necessaries, twenty-six shillings and eightpence or the value of the same in gold, by equal portions at the four terms of the year specified, to be paid by the hands of the provost out of the goods of the church.

The only alteration in B is 26s. instead of 26s. 8d., probably an error.

10. ASSIGNMENT OF THE STIPENDS OF THE THREE CLERKS

Every one of the three clerks shall yearly receive at the hands of the provost as his stipend forty shillings by equal portions at the terms aforesaid, and for his livery in clothes[13] one mark of the aforesaid money against the feast of Christmas, out of the common goods of the aforesaid church.

In B the clause "and for his livery . . . . Christmas" was omitted, but was restored in the codicil. See 84 below.

11. ASSIGNMENT OF THE CHORISTERS' NUTRIMENT

The sacrist shall receive yearly, for the victuals of each of the choristers forty shillings of the said money by equal portions at the terms abovesaid, and, for their livery in clothes and winter coats[14] and other necessaries, thirteen shillings and fourpence, to be paid to the same sacrist by the hands of the provost out of the common goods of the church at the feast of St. Michael.

In B the clause "and for their livery . . . . St. Michael" was cut out, but was restored in the codicil. See 85 below.

12. THE POWER OF THE DEAN TO PUT THE POOR FOLK IN THE ALMSHOUSE, WITH LIMITATION OF THEIR PORTIONS

Over and above the number of poor men and women of old time established, as aforesaid, there shall be added to the said number by the dean, and shall be received and set in the collegiate church together with the said fifty men and five women, fifty other poor men and five other women to do service to the said poor; of the which poor men every one shall receive and have for every day a penny, when corn in those parts does not exceed the sum of nine shillings the quarter, but,[15] if the quarter be sold at ten shillings or more, each of the said poor men shall have three halfpence[16] for every day weekly, and each of the said women [a penny] with a halfpenny for every day yearly, what-

13 *Pro robis suis.*
14 *Pro robis et tunicis yemalibus.*
15 In margin : *Form of increasing the poor folks' portions in case of dearth of coin.*
16 This sum, left blank in A, is supplied in B.

soever be the price of corn there current, to be paid every Friday weekly by the almoner or another person in his name out of the common goods of the church, and to the almoner by the provost or another canon in his name at the beginning of every month.[17] But[18] if perchance it happen hereafter that such number of poor folk, to wit, a hundred men and ten women, be not there in any wise, the poor men and women that are there for the time shall receive and have so much and all that sum of money which the poor men and women would receive, were they set and stablished there in the full number aforesaid.

B omits the clauses 'when corn . . . . three halfpence for every day' and 'yearly . . . . current'. See the revision in the codicil, No. 90 below. The text of A omits the amount payable to the women and is somewhat muddled at this point, but is rectified, though somewhat imperfectly, by B.

13. OF THE AMOTION OF POOR FOLK WHO ARE QUARRELSOME

If any of the number of the poor folk[19] resident in the college be found a notorious nuisance, a brawler or obstinately disobedient,[20] or be otherwise convicted summarily of some notable crime before the dean, he shall from that time be amoved altogether by the dean, and another needy person shall be substituted by the dean in his place. And,[21] if any one of such poor folk after his entry contract leprosy,[22] he shall be expelled from that place and put in the house at the end of the town of Leicester which the duke intends to build for leprous folk,[23] and there shall be given him every day as much as one other poor man receives in the college. And[24] if any one of the said poor folk have so recovered from his infirmity, that by his toil he can get him victuals and raiment for himself by labour, he shall be expelled from the said place, and another weak man and poor[25] be supplied in his stead.

The clause relating to leprosy was omitted in B, but restored in the codicil. See 91 below.

17 B omits 'at the beginning of every month' and substitutes 'weekly'.

18 In margin : *What is to be done concerning the stipends of the poor for the time wherein they fall short of the complete number.*

19 B adds 'or serving-women'.

20 *Notorie nocivus, rixosus aut nimis contumeliosus.*

21 In margin : *Of the poor folk who contract leprosy.*

22 *In lepram inciderit.* 23 St. Leonard's hospital.

24 In margin : *Of the expulsion of the poor folk when they recover.*

25 *Debilis et pauper.*

14. OF THE COATS AND HOODS OF THE POOR WOMEN

Every one of the ten serving women shall yearly receive at the hands of the almoner on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross[26] five shillings for a coat and hood.[27]

Omitted in B.

15. OF THE TUNICS AND HOODS OF FORTY POOR FOLK OUT OF THE ENTIRE NUMBER OF A HUNDRED

Forty poor folk of the number of the said hundred poor men to be set in the same church, who shall be resident or abiding therein, shall for their coats and hoods receive yearly on the said feast of the Exaltation £6 13s. 4d., to be received from the provost and to be divided equally among them by the almoner.

Omitted in B, but restored with revision in the codicil. See 92 below.

16. OF THE BEDS OF THE POOR FOLK THAT ARE NEWLY ADDED

The aforesaid fifty poor men and five women who are added over and above the ancient number formerly appointed and observed in the hospital, before its erection into a collegiate church, shall have new beds,[28] even as it was originally ordained for the other poor folk who were aforetime in the said hospital.

Omitted in B, but restored in the codicil. See 93 below.

17. HOW ALL THE POOR FOLK SHALL LODGE TOGETHER IN ONE HOUSE AND HEAR MASSES IN THE SAME

All the aforesaid poor folk shall lodge together in one house, wherein we ordain that a chapel be constructed, and in the same their chapel shall masses be celebrated for the said poor, one to wit at the dawn[29] of every day, and the other about nine o'clock, by two vicars who shall be appointed weekly for that purpose by the dean and chapter, so that such poor folk, abiding and being in the house, may be able devoutly to behold the elevation of the Body of Christ at the masses to be said in the same chapel.

Statute 14 in B.

18. THE PENALTY OF THE PROVOST, IF HE PAY NOT THE REVENUES OF THEIR PREBENDS TO THE CANONS

If the provost fail in the payment of the twenty marks or other goods, to be paid in manner aforesaid, which should be made yearly to each of the canons at the terms for this purpose

26 14 September. 27 *Pro tunicis et capuciis.*

28 *De novo lectos.* Bedding is of course what is meant.

29 *In aurora diei.*

above appointed, or for the whole month thereafter next following, he shall from that time be amoved from his office by the dean, and another fit person be elected in his place within the eight days thereafter next coming, in the form hereinafter described; and for each failure at any term he shall be compelled to pay out of his own portion to each of the canons in the payment of whose portion for any term he has failed by neglect half a mark sterling, within the eight days after the aforesaid month then next following.

Statute 15 in B, where the sum of twenty marks is altered to ten, as in statute 6.

19. OF THE RIGHT OF PRESENTATION OF THE FIRST DEAN

The first dean to be appointed, at the presentation of the said duke or, if he be absent from the realm of England, of his lieutenant, to be made to the lord bishop of Lincoln, shall be admitted, instituted and inducted by the bishop, or by another person at his mandate.

Statute 16 in B.

20. OF THE FORM OF CREATION OF OTHER DEANS IN TIME TO COME

Every dean for the time being after the creation of the first dean shall be thus appointed, to wit, in the voidance of the deanery, within the fifteen days thereafter next following, the chapter shall, by their letters patent sealed with the common seal of the chapter, nominate and be bound to nominate to the duke, if he be at that time present in the realm of England, three persons of the same chapter who, according to their conscience, are most fit to preside in the office of the said deanery. Otherwise, if he be absent from the realm, [such nomination shall be made] to his lieutenant, and, after the duke's death, to his heir, if he be a male: otherwise, if the heritage of the said duke happen to be divided between females, to her who shall obtain the earldom of Leicester, and, if the earldom happen to be so divided, then to her who shall obtain the principal lordship[30] of the earldom with the town and castle of Leicester. Of[31] the which persons so nominated the duke, or his lieutenant in his absence, and after his decease his heirs, if he be male, or any other his heir as aforesaid, shall be bound within the month thereafter next following to present to the said deanery and canonry one such nominee whom he or they shall deem most suitable, to the bishop of Lincoln for

30 *Principalius dominium.*

31 In margin: *Of the presentation of the dean.*

the time being, as the diocesan of the place, or, in a voidance of the see, to the keeper of the spiritualities of the church of Lincoln, for preferment as dean and canon. The which presentee shall be canonically instituted by the said bishop or keeper as dean and perpetual canon after they have assured themselves of the voidance of the said deanery, and[32] shall be inducted at the mandate of the said bishop or keeper into corporal possession of such deanery and canonry and the prebend thereto annexed, and of the rights and appurtenances of the same, by the sacrist, by whom the stall in choir and place in chapter due to the dean shall be assigned to him; to the which dean the care and government of the church shall be committed by the said diocesan or keeper.

Statute 17 in B, where the number of nominees is altered from three to two. The case of a single female heir *in solidum* is provided for by the addition after the words 'if he be a male', the clause 'or to a female daughter, if there be only one such heir in entirety to the duke'. B also adds a final clause as follows: 'And if it happen that the duke or his heir or heirs do not present within the month as aforesaid one of the said nominees, we will and ordain with the consent of the duke that then the presentation of the dean shall devolve to the chapter for that turn'.

21. THE MANNER OF PRESENTING CANONS TO PREBENDS

All and sundry the persons to be admitted to canonries and prebends shall be presented under the names of the prebends as above entitled to the bishop of Lincoln, if the see be filled, or, in its voidance, to the official or the keeper of the spirituality of the same, by the duke of Lancaster in his lifetime, and after his decease by his heirs, concerning whose right to present the dean provision has been made above in the present ordinance; and,[33] after enquiry has been made into the voidance of the prebend and the character and life of the presentee, if he be found capable and fit, he shall without any difficulty be admitted to such canonry and prebend and instituted in the same, and,[34] at the mandate of the bishop or his official, in a voidance of the see, of the keeper of the spirituality, shall be received by the dean as a canon and a brother, and there shall be assigned to him the stall in choir and the place in the chapter belonging to his prebend in manner and

32 In margin: *Induction of the dean of Leicester by the sacrist at the bishop's mandate.*

33 In margin: *Admission of canons presented after preparatory enquiry by the bishop.*

34 In margin: *Induction of canons by the dean at the bishop's mandate.*

form following. For[35] whenever any fit person has been presented to a canonry and prebend to the diocesan of the place or, in a voidance of the church of Lincoln, to the keeper of the spirituality of the same, and has been canonically instituted by him, he shall come to the dean with letters of the bishop of Lincoln or the official or keeper aforesaid, containing the manner of his admission; and then shall the dean assign to him the place in chapter belonging to such his prebend, delivering possession to him by the book of the Gospels,[36] while the other canons sing the psalm *Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum*. And, while that psalm is sung, such new canon shall kiss, first the dean, if he be present, or his lieutenant, and then the rest of the canons in order.[37] When the psalm is ended with *Gloria Patri, Kyrieleyson, Christeleyson, Kyrieleyson,* there shall afterwards be said *Pater noster*; and meanwhile the person admitted shall lie on his back upon the ground, vested in a surplice, almuce and black cope, and there shall be said by the dean or his vicegerent *Et ne nos,*[38] *Salvum fac servum tuum Domine, Deus meus sperantem in te, Nichil proficiet inimicus in eo et filius iniquitatis, etc., Domine Deus virtutum, Domine exaudi, Dominus vobiscum,* and the collect *Acciones nostras,* etc. After the conclusion of which the said new canon shall straightway swear obedience to the dean and his successors; and the dean shall then lead him into the church and install him in the stall entitled with the name of his prebend, and shall make for the said prebendary letters patent under the common seal of the chapter in testimony of his installation aforesaid.

Statute 18 in B. The only variation of importance is the direction that the canon's almuce should be of grey squirrel fur (*de grysio*).

22. HOW EVERY CANON IS BOUND TO BESTOW A COPE FOR PROCESSIONS OR FORTY SHILLINGS UPON THE CHURCH

Every canon with a prebend, within a year from the time of his admission and installation, shall be bound to bestow upon the

35 In margin : *The manner of the installation of canons.*

36 *I.e.*, a copy of the Gospels was handed to him as the concrete symbol of the property thus delivered. The ceremony, with the singing of Ps. cxxxiii (cxxxii Vulgate), is much the same as that used at the installation of a canon in a cathedral church to-day, with the omission of such details as the recumbent posture of the canon.

37 The ceremony is identical with that used in most cathedral chapters at the present day, except that kissing has given place to shaking hands.

38 Sc. *inducas in temptacionem,* with the response *Sed libera nos a malo.* The remaining suffrages are familiar in their English form. The collect is that well known in English as 'Prevent us, O Lord, in all our doings', etc.

church a comely cope for processions, or in place thereof forty shillings sterling to buy such a cope.

Omitted in B.

23. OF THE ADMISSION OF VICARS

The thirteen vicars, before they are admitted, shall undergo examination from the dean and chapter or the more and sounder part of the same, in what sort they know how to read or sing, and, if they be found of good life and honest conversation and otherwise capable and serviceable, they shall be admitted by the dean and chapter at the nomination of the dean. But,[39] if any one of them, by judgment of the dean and the more part of the canons, be found to be of unhonest life, or incapable, he shall be utterly rejected, and another person shall be provided by the dean and chapter and put in his stead within fifteen days then following. And,[40] from the time of the voidance of any vicar's stall, the stipend which the vicar should receive while in occupancy of the stall shall be preserved in its entirety, for the whole period of voidance, for the fabric of the church.

B substitutes the following ordinance (statute 19) made with the consent of the duke : Every canon shall present to the dean his vicar, a person capable and serviceable in character and knowledge,[41] who shall be examined, before he be admitted, by the dean and three canons of the chapter; and such presentation shall be made within fifteen days from the time of voidance of the said vicarage. Otherwise, if he present an unsuitable person, or omit by neglect to present within the said period, the collation of the vicarage and the appointment of the vicar shall devolve for that turn upon the dean for the time being.

24. OF THE HABIT OF THE DEAN, CANONS AND VICARS IN CHURCH AND CHOIR

The dean and canons shall be bound every day in church, while they are present at matins, vespers and the canonical hours, to go about in black copes, white surplices and almuces of grey fur, like other canons of cathedral churches, and the vicars in white surplices, black copes and almuces of black cloth, furred with black budge, like other vicars of cathedral churches. The[42] dean and canons shall also wear tunics and supertunics reaching

39 In margin : *Of the amoval of unhonest vicars.*

40 In margin : *Of the stipend of a vicar's stall when void : it shall be applied to the fabric of the church.*

41 *Abilem et ydoneum moribus et sciencia.*

42 In margin : *Of their habit when they are resident in college.*

to their heels and fastened close,[43] and hosen only of black hue, when they happen to be resident.

Statute 20 in B, which prescribes linen as an alternative to budge for the lining of the vicars' almuces.

25. OF ONE OF THE THREE CLERKS WHO SERVES AT THE ALTAR

There shall be one clerk of the number of the said three clerks, an honest man and unmarried, who shall serve in a surplice and black cope about the high altar to kindle the lights, fold up the vestments and perform other necessary tasks at the same.

Statute 21 in B, which also includes the statute following.

26. OF THE OFFICES OF THE OTHER TWO CLERKS

There shall be two other clerks of the said number of three, to ring the bells, and to help the priests who celebrate at the altars in the nave of the church when they say their masses. The[44] which three clerks shall be presented by the sacrist to the dean, and shall be admitted by him, if they be capable.

Part of statute 21 in B.

27. OF THE NOMINATION AND ADMISSION OF THE SIX CHORISTERS

There shall be six chorister boys to be appointed in the church, who shall be admitted by the dean at the nomination of the sacrist, and shall go about in church in black copes and in surplices, and shall minister in the same after the manner of the choristers of the church of Salisbury; and they shall be under the keeping and governance of the sacrist.

Statute 22 in B.

28. OF THE APPOINTMENT OF THE VERGER OF THE CHURCH, AND OF HIS OFFICE

There shall be a layman or married clerk, or another person of honest conversation and good fame, who shall serve in the said church at the nomination and appointment of the dean, and shall carry the white rod in state before the dean and canons at the time of their entry to high mass and their going out therefrom, and throughout the whole time of the same, and in time of matins, vespers and the other canonical hours, and while the altars are being censed. He shall close also and open the gates of the close, and shall keep them at suitable seasons; and he shall receive yearly of the common goods by the hands of the provost at the aforenamed terms as much as one of the three clerks aforesaid shall receive.

Statute 23 in B, with omission of the words 'and thoughout the whole time of the same'.

29. THE VICARS, CLERKS AND VERGER SHALL NOT BE PERPETUAL

All the abovesaid vicars, clerks and minister shall be in receipt, not of perpetual, but of temporary stipends, as is expedient.[45]

Omitted in B.

30. OF THE RESIDENCE OF THE DEAN, CANON AND VICARS

The dean, canons and vicars for the time being shall be bound to keep continual and personal residence with the following modification, to wit, they shall have power to be absent with impunity on behalf of the evident advantage of the church or for other reasonable cause to be approved by the judgment of the dean and the more and sounder part of the chapter, and also for two calendar months, continuous or interrupted, in the year, according to the reckoning of days continuous or at intervals, in none but honest places for their recreation. Provided,[46] however, that at one and the same time three canons and three vicars only shall use such leave of absence, so that the church may not be left in serious want, as regards the divine offices, by the absence of more than these. And if during their months of absence there fall any one of the principal feasts of the year, they shall return for such feast to the church.

Statute 24 in B.

31. OF THE PENALTY OF A CANON OR VICAR WHO IS ABSENT FOR FIFTEEN DAYS BEYOND THE TWO MONTHS AFORESAID

If it shall happen that any of the canons or vicars shall wilfully absent himself from the church for more than the two months continuous or interrupted during the year whereof mention has been made, without reasonable[47] cause alleged and proved in the presence of the dean by the said absentee, so much shall be subtracted from the portion of his prebend in proportion to the duration of such his absence as he would have received had he been resident in person during the time of his said absence;

[43] *Talaribus atque clausis.*

[44] In margin : *Of the presentation and admission of the three clerks.*

[45] *I.e.*, their offices are not freehold benefices.

[46] In margin : *How no more than three canons and three vicars shall be absent at the same time.*

[47] B adds 'and necessary'.

and the portion so subtracted shall be applied to the use of the fabric or to some other necessary use of the church. And if it happen that he shall so absent himself wilfully[48] without reasonable cause for fifteen days after the lapse of the said two months, and shall be summarily and clearly[49] convicted of this in the presence of the dean, he shall from that time be deprived *ipso jure* of his canonry and prebend or his vicarage, and another person shall be presented by the said duke or his lieutenant or his heir in manner above denoted to the diocesan of the place, the keeper of the spirituality or the official in a voidance of the see, in place of the canon so deprived, and another person shall be duly substituted in manner and form above expressed as regards the admission of the vicars, in place of the vicar so deprived.

Statute 25 in B.

The absence of fifteen days beyond the statutory period is 'without reasonable and necessary cause, to be approved by the decision of the dean and the more and sounder part of the chapter.' The necessary use of the church to which the forfeited stipend may be applied is qualified as *magis necessarium, i.e.* 'some other of the most necessary uses.'

32. OF THE USE OF THE CHURCH OF SALISBURY, AND OF THE CELEBRATION OF SPECIAL MASSES FOR THE FOUNDER AND HIS PARENTS

The dean, canons, vicars and other ministers shall be bound to say matins, vespers and the other canonical hours according to the use of the church of Salisbury, and a mass of the day with song, and another of the blessed Virgin Mary, except on those of her feast-days whereon high mass must be celebrated of her, and matins and vespers of the same Virgin in company without song save on double feasts, and the rest of the canonical hours by day and night alike;[50] and also a mass in special without song, in the first place that which is wont to be said for the departed in the chapel of blessed Mary on the south side of the church,[51] for the soul of Henry, earl of Lancaster, the father of the said duke, and Maud his mother, and for the souls of all the kinsfolk of the said duke departed and all those to whom he is bound, and a special mass, *Salus populi* to wit, during the lifetime of the duke for

48 B omits 'wilfully'.

49 B omits 'summarily and clearly'.

50 For 'by day and night alike' B substitutes 'as in the church of Salisbury'.

51 This direction may be commended to the attention of those who hold the doctrine that in churches dedicated to our Lady, the dedication of the high altar precluded the provision of a special Lady Chapel.

himself in chief and for all his friends and well-wishers, at the north altar next the altar of the chapel of blessed Mary, and after the duke's decease the mass that is wont to be said for the departed at the same altar for his soul. The canons and vicars shall be bound to celebrate or say such masses to be so said or celebrated every day, being severally obliged or deputed thereto according to the appointment of the sacrist. And[52] they all shall arise for matins in winter and summer as do the canons, vicars, clerks and ministers in the church of Salisbury abovesaid.

Statute 26 in B. The daily mass of our Lady is to be with song (*cum nota*). The only other variation of importance is the substitution of Lincoln for Salisbury in the final clause.

33. OF THE PENALTY OF ABSENTEES FROM THE CELEBRATION OF THE CANONICAL HOURS IN CHURCH

The dean, canons, vicars, clerks and minister of the church, if not withheld by any lawful hindrance, shall be present in person in choir to say matins and all the canonical hours, and while high mass shall be sung at the high altar, under pain of the subtraction of half of their stipends in proportion to the time of their absence, to be applied to the other canons, vicars, clerks and ministers in residence; and we will that each of them shall incur this penalty *ipso facto* by reason of his absence, so often as it shall befall.

Expanded into five chapters (27-31) in B as follows:

27. The dean for the time being, if not withheld by lawful hindrance or reasonable cause, shall be present in person in choir at matins and while high mass shall be celebrated at the high altar. Otherwise he shall undergo condign and appropriate correction for such transgression [to be administered] by the local ordinary or other judge competent in this behalf. *To this is appended the marginal note: Jurisdictio episcopi in decanum.*

28. All the other canons, if not withheld by any lawful hindrance, shall be present in person in choir at matins and all the other canonical hours, and while high mass shall be sung at the high altar, under pain of losing a penny if they happen to absent themselves from matins, or a halfpenny if from any hour or from high mass without reasonable cause, as is aforesaid, to be discussed and approved by the judgment of the dean; the which penalty imposed upon such absentees is to be applied to the other canons then present at matins and at the other canonical hours,

52 In margin: *Of rising for matins.*

and this we will that they shall incur *ipso facto,* as is aforesaid, by reason of their absence, so often as it shall befall.

29. All the present vicars, if not withheld [*etc.*] shall be present in person in choir and in the chapel of St. Mary at matins [*etc., as before*] and while mass of St. Mary shall be sung in the chapel of St. Mary, under penalty [*etc., as before*] from high mass or from the mass of St. Mary; the which penalty [*etc.*] is to be applied to the other vicars then present at matins and at the mass of the day and the mass of St. Mary abovesaid; the which penalty [*etc., as before*].

30. If it shall happen that any canon or vicar be greatly accustomed or addicted to absenting himself from matins, masses and the canonical hours without reasonable cause to be approved by the determination of the dean, they shall be punished further with yet another arbitrary penalty to be reasonably imposed by the determination of the dean, and to be applied, if it be in the form of money, to the other canons then present.

31. If it happen that the clerks, choristers or ministers shall absent themselves from the said masses or canonical hours, as is aforesaid, without reasonable cause, they shall be punished by the determination of the dean.

34. OF THE HEBDOMADARY CANON APPOINTED IN WRITING BY THE SACRIST

Every canon who is written up[53] by the sacrist to have the chief conduct or exercise of the office in church at matins, high mass and the canonical hours, shall diligently and devoutly exercise it at the due seasons for his week in which he shall be so marked down.

Statute 32 in B, which excepts the dean.

35. HOW NO ONE SHALL CELEBRATE AT THE HIGH ALTAR BUT THE DEAN, A CANON, OR A PRELATE

No minister below the rank of dean or canon shall be suffered to celebrate mass with song at the high altar, nor any stranger unless he be of the dignity of a prelate, as for example a bishop or an abbot.

Statute 33 in B.

36. HOW THE DEAN SHALL NOT ABSENT HIMSELF FROM CHURCH ON THE GREAT FESTIVALS

The dean for the time being shall in no wise absent himself from the said collegiate church, especially on the greater and

[53] *Ascriptus.*

double feasts in the year, unless when he shall happen to be absent on the same feasts for the evident advantage of the church or for other necessary cause, touching the true exigency whereof we will that his conscience shall be responsible.

Statute 34 in B.

37. HOW THE CANONS OR VICARS SHALL NOT CELEBRATE ANNUAL MASSES

The canons and vicars shall presume to celebrate no annual mass or trental to be celebrated for the souls of deceased persons other than those aforesaid, but shall be content with the said stipends appointed them, and shall do service faithfully and celebrate for the souls of them for whom ordinance is made above.

Statute 35 in B.

38. HOW THE DEAN, CANONS AND VICARS SHALL SAY A SPECIAL COLLECT IN THEIR MASSES FOR THE KINGS

The dean, canons and vicars shall be bound each day in their masses to pray specially and say a special collect for the most excellent prince the lord Edward, by the grace of God king of England, and his consort the lady Philippa, queen of England, and for their children and all their heirs while they live, and after their death for their souls and those of the kings and queens of the said realm who have been and shall be.

Statute 36 in E, beginning 'The dean, canons and vicars present in the college'. At the end the words 'except the high mass of the day'.

39. HOW THE DEAN SHALL SUPERINTEND THE DECENT BEHAVIOUR OF THE CANONS AND VICARS

The dean shall so rule and direct the canons, vicars and all the ministers of the choir in discreet and due manner, that they may bear themselves honestly and soberly and chant and say the offices of the night and likewise of the day with due devotion according to the use of the church of Salisbury.

Statute 37 in B, with unimportant verbal changes.

40. HOW THE DEAN SHALL CELEBRATE CHAPTER EVERY SATURDAY AND CAUSE THE STATUTES TO BE READ AT THE BEGINNING OF EVERY MONTH

Every Saturday the dean shall cause all the canons, vicars and ministers to come together in his presence in the chapter-house immediately after prime and *Preciosa*[54] and the other suffrages have been said in choir according to the use of the church

[54] *I.e.,* the versicle *Pretiosa in conspectu Domini* with the response *Mors sanctorum ejus* at the end of prime

of Salisbury. And[55] in the same place shall be read the present statutes and ordinances at least once at the beginning of every quarter of the year, and this year by year, that they may not incur perjury through extreme forgetfulness or sloth. And[56] on every such Saturday, while the canons and other ministers, as aforesaid, shall be gathered together, the dean or his lieutenant shall make enquiry concerning the transgressions and defaults of the canons, vicars, clerks and ministers which during the preceding week have been committed or have befallen as regards the divine offices or their behaviour, and such defaults and transgressions shall be duly corrected and canonically punished according to their quantity and the quality of the guilty persons by the dean or his lieutenant, save[57] in cases specially reserved by law to bishops and their superiors.

Statute 38 in B, with 'every quarter' instead of 'at the beginning of every quarter'. For the final clause, 'save in cases', etc., B substitutes: 'And if it shall happen that the canons, vicars, clerks and ministers be visited by the bishop of Lincoln, the matters discovered[58] in such visitation shall be corrected in the chapter-house of the collegiate church by the said bishop or his commissary', with the marginal note, *Jurisdiccio episcopi Lyncolniensis in canonicos, vicarios et ministros dicti collegii.*

41. USES TO WHICH FINES IN MONEY SHOULD BE APPLIED

All fines in money to be inflicted by the dean or his lieutenant upon the canons, vicars or ministers shall be applied to the fabric of the church, except the penalty ordained to be imposed upon the provost by reason of delay in the payment of stipends for the canons' portion.

Statute 39 in B, with the alternative application of fines to some other of the most necessary uses of the church. It adds 'and except the penalty also of those who are not present at matins, masses and the other canonical hours, which is to be applied to the [use of the] others who are at present at such hours'.

55 In margin: *Of the reading of the statutes at the beginning of every month.*

56 In margin: *Of the enquiry and corrections to be made by the dean.*

57 In margin: *The bishop's jurisdiction.*

58 *Comperta, i.e.,* the faults discovered from the *detecta* or evidence revealed at a visitation.

42*a*. OF THE OFFICE OF THE DEAN AS REGARDS THE CELERATION OF MASSES AND THE PERFORMANCE OF THE DIVINE OFFICE

It shall appertain to the office of the dean to celebrate high mass of the day and to say matins and vespers in choir throughout all greater double feasts, to wit, Christmas, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, the Purification of blessed Mary, Ash Wednesday,[59] Palm Sunday and the three days next before Easter, Easter day, Ascension day, the eve and the day of Pentecost, the day of the Holy Trinity, Corpus Christi day, the Nativity of St. John Baptist, the day of the apostles Peter and Paul, the feast of the Relics of the church, the days of the Conception, Annunciation, Assumption and Nativity of blessed Mary, the feasts of St. Michael and All Saints, the anniversaries of the founders of the church and every other double feast throughout the year according to the use of the church of Salisbury.

Statutes 42 *a—e*, divided here into separate chapters for convenience of reference in connexion with the corresponding five chapters in C are really one statute and are so treated in B (40), in which the final clause 'and every other double feast', etc., is omitted, and a new clause substituted as follows: 'save in the case when the bishop, the ordinary of the place, shall be present on the said feasts in the church and may wish to celebrate the high masses of the day and say such offices in his own person, or when the patron and founder of the church may wish the high masses of the day to be celebrated and the other offices to be both said and executed in his presence by another person that the dean'.

42*b*. HOW THE DEAN SHALL SAY *CONFITEOR* AT PRIME AND COMPLINE

The dean, if he be present in choir, should say *Confiteor, Misereatur* and the absolution every day throughout the whole year, both at prime and compline.

Part of statute 40 in B.

42*c*. WHAT SORT OF HONOUR IS TO BE PAID TO THE DEAN IN CHOIR

Honour and reverence should be paid to the dean as follows, to wit, all the canons, vicars and ministers, great and small, as they enter and leave the choir, shall bow to the dean, being in his stall; and all, great and small, should rise reverently when the dean enters choir or chapter or when he passes through either.

Part of statute 40 in B.

59 *In capite jejunii.*

42*d*. AFTER WHAT MANNER THE DEAN SHALL VISIT THE SICK

The visitation of the sick shall also appertain to the office of the dean in form following. When a canon or vicar resident in the church is hindered by ill-health, the dean shall go to him and give him suitable advice for the health of his soul. And if he wish to have counsel for his spiritual well-being from any other person, this shall be granted him by leave of the dean without any demur. And[60] if, with the increase of mortal sickness, needs be that he be anointed with unction, the dean shall go to the sick man at a convenient season with the canons and vicars in residence clad in their habits, and with holy water, cross, tapers and bell[61] going before them, and the dean[62] shall perform the office of extreme unction, while in the mean time the rest of the canons and vicars there present shall sing and say devoutly the psalms, litanies and what else appertains to the said office. This done, the sick man shall kiss, first the dean, then the other canons,[63] if no infection can be bred in others by such kiss,[64] saying 'Pray for me, brother'; and each one shall answer 'The Lord defend thee from all evil'. And each one shall say the Lord's prayer and the salutation of the blessed Virgin, and so praying they shall leave him. And,[65] when he is dead and laid on his bier according to custom, the dean, canons and all the vicars who are in residence and are able shall go to the house of the deceased and there say commendation, unless he have died so late that the office of commendation cannot be finished by daylight, in which case they shall perform it on the morning of[66] the day following next after mass of the blessed Virgin has been sung. After the end of vespers on the same day the dean shall assemble the canons, vicars and other ministers, and the body shall be carried into church and laid in choir, and then shall *Placebo* and *Dirige*[67] be said with wonted solemnity. On the[68] night then following there shall keep watch about the body until midnight, those canons and vicars, to wit, whose accustomed places are on that side of the choir whereon the deceased had his stall, and for the rest of the night the other canons and vicars shall keep watch about it whose accustomed places are on the other side of the choir. At which times, as they so keep watch, they shall say the psalter aloud and devoutly for the deceased. And,[69] if any canon or other member of choir cannot take part in such watches by reason of ill-health or other lawful cause approved[70] in presence of the dean, he shall send another person to perform his part as aforesaid. On the morrow the office of the dead shall be performed for the deceased at the high altar by the dean or another of the canons, and the rest of the canons shall then and there lend their presence; and thereafter shall the body be delivered honourably to ecclesiastical burial by ministry of the dean or another canon. On[71] the same day shall all the canons and vicars say masses, to wit *Requiem eternam,* for the deceased at the dean's bidding, save only those whose names are on the list to celebrate the masses of the day, of the blessed Virgin and for the souls of the founders.

Part of statute 40 in B with very slight alterations as indicated in the notes.

42*e*. THE BEGINNING OF MATINS AND VESPERS, SPRINKLING OF HOLY WATER, THE PROCESSION AND COMPLINE SHALL AWAIT THE COMING OF THE DEAN

Vespers and matins shall not be begun before the coming of the dean, if he be present within the close and wish to attend. Likewise his coming, or a message from him to the contrary, shall be awaited at the sprinkling of holy water, the procession and compline.

Part of statute 40 in B.

43. HOW THE CANONS SHALL NOT BE HAUNTERS OF TAVERNS, ETC., AND OF THE PENALTY OF THOSE THAT ARE INCORRIGIBLE

None of the canons, vicars or ministers shall be a haunter of taverns, or of forbidden public assemblies or lawless spectacles. And, if any of them, after lawful warning by the dean against going counter hereto, will not mend his ways, he shall be suspended from choir by the dean and shall go without part of his prebend and stipend, which shall be reasonably assessed by the

60 In margin : *Of the visitation of the sick and extreme unction.*

61 *Tintinnabulum.*

62 B adds 'if he be present within the close'.

63 B adds 'and the vicars'.

64 *Si per huiusmodi osculum occasio infirmitatis aliis nequeat generari.*

65 In margin : *Of the funeral rites for deceased canons.*

66 B omits the rest of the sentence to avoid the ambiguity caused by the words 'on the same day' in the next.

67 The office of the dead.

68 In margin : *Of the vigils about the bier at night.*

69 In margin : *Of the celebration of vigils by the substitute of anyone who is unable to be present.*

70 'To be approved', B.

71 In margin : *Of the celebration of Requiem masses for the deceased at the dean's order.*

dean in proportion to the duration of his suspension, and he shall not be admitted to choir unless he have done fitting penance for his offences. And, if they be found incorrigible and be convicted of this summarily and clearly before the dean, they shall thenceforth, being thus guilty, be deprived *ipso facto* of their stipends which they have in the church; and the vicars, clerks and ministers who are of lower rank than the canons, being found thus blameworthy and incorrigible by the dean and chapter, shall be utterly amoved from the church.

Statute 41 in B, which adds after 'spectacles' the following: 'or shall gad about in the town by night or day without reasonable cause to be discussed and approved as the dean shall determine'.

B adds a statute (42): 'If the dean for the time being bring any action in accordance with the statutes against any canon, vicar or minister of the church or any other person, or do aught else in defence of the rights and liberties of the church or as befits the execution of such statutes, and appeal be made against him on these grounds or he be in any other sort harassed at law or without legal process, the same dean, that his office may bring him no loss, shall prosecute or defend such cause or business at the common cost, to be levied out of the common goods of the church, as shall seem to him expedient'.

44. HOW THE CANONS OR VICARS SHALL NOT LIE OUTSIDE THE HOUSES APPOINTED FOR THEM

No one of the canons, vicars, clerks or ministers shall presume to lie by night outside their houses, after such houses have been constructed and assigned to them, unless during the period granted to them by the ordinance made in this behalf.

Statute 43 in B.

45. OF THE KEEPING OF THE ANNIVERSARIES OF THE FOUNDERS

The obits of Sir Henry, sometime earl of Lancaster, the duke's father, and of Maud the duke's mother and of the duke himself when he shall have departed this life shall be celebrated every year upon their several anniversaries, at whatever time of the year they fall, solemnly and with music in masses and funeral offices,[72] by the dean, canons, vicars and ministers of the church who shall then be present in the same.

Statute in 44 B.

[72] *Exequiis, i.e.,* the solemn ceremony at the bier, as distinct from mass.

46. OF THE PITTANCE TO BE PAID TO THE DEAN AND CANONS AT SUCH ANNIVERSARIES

On the anniversary of the duke's father the dean shall receive yearly as a pittance by the hands of the provost two shillings, and each of the canons other than the dean twelvepence, and each of the vicars sixpence, and every one of the clerks sixpence, and every one of the choristers and the serjeant threepence, and every one of the ten women who serve the poor folk one penny out of the common goods of the church.

Statute 45 in B.

47. HOW THEY SHALL RECEIVE AS MUCH AT THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE DUKE AS AT THAT OF HIS FATHER THE EARL

On the anniversary of the duke and on that of Maud his mother all and sundry the above said shall receive as much yearly as they should receive on the anniversary of his father.

Statute 46 in B.

48. OF THE MANNER AND FORM OF THE ELECTION OF THE PROVOST

One of the canons shall be elected as provost of the church with the unanimous consent and assent of the dean and chapter, or at any rate of their more and sounder part by comparison with the lesser part. He thus elected shall be a temporary officer, so that, whenever it shall seem expedient to the more part aforesaid, he may be utterly amoved from his office and another person be substituted in his place in form aforesaid.

Statute 47 in B.

49. WHAT APPERTAINS TO THE OFFICE OF PROVOST

The administration of all spiritual and temporal goods belonging to the church, save only the oblations accruing or that may accrue to the same, shall be committed to the provost thus elected by the dean for the time being in the chapter house, in the presence of the canons and all his brethren then in residence, after[73] a faithful indenture has been made, under view of one or two of the canons, concerning the goods then existing in their churches, manors and other places belong then or thereafter in any wise to the collegiate church. And,[74] at the time of such commission and his admission to the administration of such goods, the said provost shall take his bodily oath before the dean and chapter to minister faithfully in his office and zealously apply all

[73] In margin: *Of the inventory to be made by the provost.*

[74] In margin: *Of the provost's oath.*

the due diligence that he can do good and faithful ministry as regards the aforesaid and all other goods of the church. And[75] he shall render and shew with due effect a faithful account of the performance of his administration twice in every year, to wit in the fortnight after Easter and the fortnight after Michaelmas, and every time of his amotion from his office unless he be immediately amoved at the rendering of his account, in presence of the dean and three canons to be deputed by the chapter.

Statute 48 in B, which after 'Michaelmas' adds 'or at other times when it shall seem more expedient to the dean and chapter', and substitutes 'two' for 'three' as the number of canons whose presence is required at the audit.

50. HOW THE PROVOST, WHEN ABSENT FROM THE CHURCH ON BUSINESS, SHALL BE RECKONED RESIDENT

The provost, during the time wherein he shall have charge of his office and shall happen on account of the same to be absent from the collegiate church in the discharge of his office and of business touching the said church, shall be reckoned as resident in the same, provided nevertheless that on the great and on double festivals he shall in no wise be absent from the church and the divine offices then to be celebrated therein, unless the evident advantage of the church require it. And, that nothing herein may be done feignedly, we will and decree that his conscience shall be laden with such matters in due fulfilment of the oath which he has taken to observe the present statutes.

Statute 49 in B.

51. WHAT THE PROVOST SHALL RECEIVE IN THE MANORS OF THE CHURCH, WHILE HE IS OCCUPIED UPON HIS BUSINESS

The provost, for the time wherein by reason of his office he shall happen to visit the manors and places of the church, shall receive from the said places only fuel, hay for two horses and litter; and, when any of the ministers of such manors and places during their office shall come to the provost and church on business touching the same their office, the provost and church shall be bound to harbour them for the time of their stay there at the provost's own expense.

Statute 50 in B.

75 In margin : *Of the rendering of accounts by the provost.*

52. HOW THE PROVOST SHALL ANNOUNCE THE REASON OF HIS ABSENCE FROM THE CHURCH TO THE DEAN OR THE SACRIST

The provost for the time being, as often as and whensoever it is his duty by reason of his office to visit any places outside the church, shall be bound to explain the cause of his absence and the nature of his business to the dean if he be in residence, and, if not, to the sacrist. The provost[76] shall have yearly six cart-loads of hay and ten quarters of oats or pease for his horses, to be received by his own hands from the goods and manors of the church. And,[77] if it happen that he be amoved from his office for maladministration or other lawful cause within the year, the dean shall cause all the actual or due surplus of the hay, oats or pease so apportioned to be reserved and paid for his charges[78] to the person to be substituted in place of the provost, with reasonable consideration of the amount of time in the year for which he has filled the said office.

Statute 51 in B, which omits everything, however, after the word 'sacrist' at the end of the first clause. See 82 below.

53*a*. OF THE MANNER AND FORM OF THE ELECTION OF THE SACRIST

One of the canons shall be elected as sacrist by the dean and chapter, or by the more part of the chapter in comparison with the lesser; and he thus elected shall be only a temporary officer [etc., as in statute 48]. The sacrist[79] thus preferred shall find[80] for ever on each anniversary of the duke's father and mother and of the duke himself four tapers to burn yearly on such anniversaries, every one containing five pounds of wax, and light for the celebration of masses at every altar in the church, bread, wine and water for the sacrament of the altar, and he shall also provide at his own costs[81] water and salt for holy water. He shall find also two tapers for the procession, each containing a pound of wax, and two other tapers to burn on[82] the high altar at matins, masses and all the hours, and two great torches to burn at the high altar every day at the elevation of the Body of Christ, each of which at its first making and at its renewal shall be

76 In margin : *Of the hay, oats and pease to be received by the provost.*
77 In margin : *The penalty of the provost for maladministration.*
78 The codicil to B has 'for the more abundant support of his charges'.
79 In margin : *Of the charges of the office of sacrist.*
80 B adds 'at the costs of the church'.
81 B alters to 'at the costs of the church'.
82 B has 'about' (*circa*).

of the weight of eight pounds, and[83] also a lamp to burn continually out of reverence for the Body of Christ at the high altar or to be set by the same,[84] which must also be ready there constantly for the sick, and another lamp to burn in the church only by night, and a paschal candle of wax weighing twenty pounds, and tapers on the day of the Purification for the dean, canons, vicars and ministers.

Statute 52 in B, with the following addition[85]: 'Also on principal festivals and greater doubles he shall maintain yearly at the costs of the church ten tapers, each weighing half a pound of wax, to burn, five on one side of the high altar and five on the other at matins, high masses and first and second vespers; of the which ten two shall burn on one side and two on the other at all the other hours. On Sundays two shall burn on one side and two on the other at matins, masses and vespers, and at all the other hours one on one side and one on the other. On week-days one shall burn on one side and one on the other at matins, masses and vespers, and one at all the other hours. He shall also find sufficient light at the costs of the church, to wit, a candle for the dean, one for reading the lessons, two for the canons on one side and two for those on the other, and as many for the vicars in quire at night when matins are said'.

53*b*. HE SHALL BE BOUND MOREOVER, WHEN NEED BE, TO REPLACE AND REPAIR AT HIS OWN COSTS[86]

The vestments, ornaments and all books, the censers, dishes, *sperulae*,[87] cruets,[88] little bells, the Lenten veil, crosses, banners and all utensils whatsoever that are found by him in the church, and keep them safe at his own risk. And whensoever it happens that the said ornaments, books, vestments or utensils become wholly useless or be destroyed or consumed by some casual accident, then shall other new and suitable vestments, ornaments and other matters abovesaid be bought out of the common rents of the church by him whom the dean and chapter have thought fit to nominate for this purpose.

This is actually a part of the preceding statute, converted into a separate chapter in B (53).

83 In margin: *Of the provision of lamps.*
84 B omits 'or . . . . same'.
85 See statute 78 below.
86 B alters to 'the costs of the church'.
87 *I.e.*, little bowls.
88 *Ampullas.*

54*a*. HOW THE BELLS SHALL BE SUITABLY HUNG AND PRESERVED BY THE SACRIST

The sacrist for the time being shall be bound duly to keep the bells of the church fittingly hung and to provide them with the things necessary for the same, to wit, ropes and tongues, and if such bells be worn out by long use, broken, or haply burned by some casual chance, they shall be renewed out of the common goods of the church.

Statute 54 in B. In A 54 *a*—*c* form one statute, divided into three in the later version.

54*b*. HOW THE DEAN SHALL TWICE IN THE YEAR SURVEY ALL THINGS THAT APPERTAIN TO THE OFFICE OF SACRIST

The dean once or twice in each year shall survey all things that appertain to the office of the sacrist and its keeping, and, if he find any default in them, he shall immediately compel the sacrist to make good and repair such defaults fittingly at his own costs as shall be ordained.

This and the next statute were originally supplementary clauses to 54*a*. Statute 55 in B.

54*c*. OF THE CLEANING OF THE CHURCH BY THE SACRIST, AND OF STRAW AND RUSHES TO BE FURNISHED BY THE PROVOST

The sacrist shall cause the church to be cleaned at his own costs[89] against[90] the feast of Easter and the other solemn feasts on which this is wont to be done in other churches. But the provost shall furnish out of the common fund straw in winter and rushes in summer, as often as the church or its chancel shall be in need of such things.

Statute 56 in B.

55. OF THE INVENTORY TO BE MADE BY THE SACRIST AT HIS ENTRY UPON HIS OFFICE

The sacrist, at the time of his admission to office, shall make a full and faithful inventory of all things that are found in his office or appertain thereunto, in the presence of two of his fellow canons, whereof one part shall be preserved in the possession of the dean and chapter and the other in his own; and at the time of his amotion from his office he shall be bound to demise and deliver the same goods in full to the person substituted in his place in the presence of the dean and provost, as contained in the same inventory.

Statute 57 in B.

89 B omits 'at his own costs' and substitutes 'at the costs of the church'.
90 B alters to 'about'.

56. HOW THE WAX THAT IS OFFERED IN THE CHURCH SHALL REMAIN TO THE SACRIST

The wax offered on the day of the Purification of the blessed Virgin Mary, and all other wax whatsoever that is offered in the form of candles in the collegiate church, shall remain in the possession of the sacrist as a supplement to his portion as sacrist, to maintain his burthens.

Omitted in B, which adds a statute (58) as follows: 'We decree and ordain with the consent of the duke that the sacrist, at the time of his preferment to his office, shall take a bodily oath upon the holy Gospels in presence of the dean and chapter, to do faithful administration in his office and render a faithful account and reckonings of his administrations as regards oblations and all other his receipts in the presence of the dean and two canons chosen by the chapter'.

57. THE THINGS THAT APPERTAIN TO THE OFFICE OF SACRIST IN CHOIR, AND AFTER WHAT MANNER HE SHALL TAKE NOTE OF AND REPORT IN CHAPTER ALL CASES OF DEFAULT IN CHOIR AND OF ABSENCE THEREFROM

There shall and should appertain to the office of sacrist the rule of the rise and fall of song[91] in choir and the appointment of singers and readers on the list on solemn feasts and all ordinary days whatsoever. The sacrist also should on all double feasts instruct the rulers of the choir how to begin the chanting, and when there happens to be discord or default in chanting psalmody, he shall provide that it be speedily corrected. It shall appertain to him also to hear over[92] the lessons, epistles, gospels and all else that is to be read in choir and to correct any defaults there may be in reading. He shall make clear note of all and sundry the defaults of the canons, vicars and others ministers, which shall be declared once a week on Saturday in chapter in the presence of the dean or other president and the chapter, and corrections shall be made of the same and other their defaults and transgressions by the dean or other president.

Statute 59 in B.

58. OF THE MANNER AND FORM OF THE ELECTION OF THE ALMONER

One out of the number of the canons shall be elected as almoner of the poor of the church by the dean and chapter, or by the more

91 *Elevacionem et depressionem cantus.*

92 *Ascultare.*

in comparison with the lesser part of the same; and he thus elected shall be a temporary officer (*etc.*, as in 48).

Statute 60 in B.

59. WHAT THE ALMONER SHALL RECEIVE AT THE BEGINNING OF EVERY MONTH

Such almoner shall at the beginning of every month receive yearly thirteen pounds, eight shillings and fourpence sterling for the maintenance of the poor in manner and form aforesaid, at the hands of the provost or some canon deputed by him for this purpose, for distribution among the same poor men and the poor women also.

Omitted in B.

60. OF THE OATH TO BE PROFFERED BY THE ALMONER WHEN HE TAKES ON HIM HIS OFFICE, AND OF THE ACCOUNT TO BE RENDERED BY HIM

The almoner, at the time of his preferment to his office, shall take a bodily oath upon the holy Gospels in presence of the dean and chapter to minister faithfully in his office and do service and cause service to be done faithfully and without fraud or guile to the poor folk, and to render a faithful account of his receipts and administration.

Statute 61 in B.

61. HOW THE ALMONER SHALL MAKE AN INVENTORY OF ALL THINGS THAT CONCERN THE POOR FOLK

The almoner shall make a faithful inventory of all things that are found of concern to the poor folk, according to which he shall be bound to demise them to him who shall be substituted in his place.

Statute 62 in B, which adds the following statute (63): 'The almoner for the time being, in recompense of his toil, shall receive yearly at the hands of the provost out of the common goods of the church twenty shillings in equal portions at the terms above prescribed'.

62. ASSIGNMENT OF DWELLING-HOUSES FOR THE DEAN AND CANONS

The dean for the time being and every canon shall have a suitable dwelling-house for himself, apart and separate[93] from the other canons, with the buildings adjoining which are assigned to the deanery and its prebend in perpetuity, entirely free and exempt from all payment and secular services; the which buildings

93 *Separatum et divisum.*

after they have been completely constructed the dean and each of the canons shall be bound to make good[94] and repair fittingly at their own expense, as often as they stand in need thereof; and to this, as often as need be each canon shall be compelled by the dean, by the subtraction[95] of so much of the portion of the canon who is negligent herein as shall be needful for the making good of defaults, to be applied by the dean to the uses of such remaking or repair. And if it happen that, at the decease, cession, resignation or amotion of any prebendary, such dwelling-house or buildings suffer default, they shall be fittingly repaired by the ordinance or disposal of the dean within a certain term to be suitably appointed at his will out of the goods of him who so cedes, deceases or is amoved. The dean[96] shall be compelled to repair the buildings assigned to him, when they suffer default, by the bishop of Lincoln, as ordinary of the place, by the subtraction of his portion, if he be negligent herein, to be converted to the uses of such repair.

Statute 64 in B, where the last clause is annotated in the margin, as elsewhere where the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishop is involved, with the words, 'Jurisdiction of the bishop over the dean'.

63. OF THE ASSIGNMENT OF A CERTAIN DWELLING-HOUSE TO THE PROVOST FOR THE PERIOD OF HIS OFFICE

The provost shall have a certain dwelling-house, which should appertain to his office for ever; and, as often as it shall happen that he be amoved for certain lawful causes from such office, the same house which is ordained for the provost shall be assigned by the dean to the person who shall be substituted in his place, and the house of the canon thus substituted in his office shall be deputed by the dean to him who has been so amoved.

Omitted from B.

64. OF THE PROVISION OF A DWELLING-HOUSE FOR THE VICARS

A dwelling-house shall be made by itself, apart from the houses of the canons, within the gates of the close for the vicars, in the which there shall be a hall, a building for the kitchen, a bakehouse and brewhouse, and a great chamber in which they shall lie together, out of the common goods of the church; and in the

94 B substitutes 'to maintain'.

95 In margin : *Of the penalty of them that repair not such dwelling-houses.*

96 In margin : *Punishment of the dean by the bishop for the non-repair of his dwelling-house.*

same house shall they dwell, eat and drink together. The which house and buildings, when they shall be fully constructed, shall be maintained, made good and also repaired at the common cost of the church.

Omitted from B.

65. OF A HOUSE TO BE CONSTRUCTED FOR THE CHORISTERS

A suitable house shall be constructed at the common cost of the church within the close for the six choristers, in the which house they shall lie and eat[97] together by ordinance of the sacrist; the which house hereafter shall be made good and repaired at the common cost aforesaid.

Statute 65 in B.

66. HOW WOMEN SHALL NOT BE RECEIVED TO LODGE BY NIGHT IN THE HOUSES OF THE DEAN AND CANONS, AND OF THE PENALTY OF THEM THAT GO COUNTER HERETO

No women, especially strangers and in particular by night shall be received in the houses of the dean, canons and vicars, under pain of subtraction of a portion of their prebends and stipends, to be limited by the judgement of the more part of the chapter,[98] and of deprivation of their offices by the dean, and of their benefices which they hold in the church by the local diocesan, if their obstinacy demand it.

Omitted from B, but added in the codicil. See B 94 below.

67. OF THE RECEIPT UNDER INDENTURES OF THE REVENUES OF THE CHURCH BY THE DEAN, THE SACRIST AND ANOTHER CANON

The dean, the sacrist and one of the senior canons shall receive all oblations whatsoever, in whatever way, however often, and from whatever source they accrue to the church, and all the money accruing and appertaining to the same, which shall be collected out of the property of the church from its churches, manors and all its places whatsoever, and they shall write them down after the manner of an indenture and lay them up faithfully in a chest to be kept under three different keys, whereof one shall remain with the dean, another with the provost[99] and the third with the sacrist, with reservation to the provost of free power to make payment of all things and sundry as regards what has been written down.

Statute 66 in B.

97 B omits 'and eat together', for the reason of which see 86 below.

98 The codicil has 'the dean and the more part of the chapter'.

99 B alters to 'almoner'.

68. HOW THE OBLATIONS MADE IN THE CHURCH SHALL BE LAID OUT UPON THE REPAIR OF THE SAME

Such oblations shall be reserved to the use of the fabric of the church, whenever haply it shall be in need of construction, rebuilding or repair in part or in whole, and shall be expended as such repair shall require. In[100] case, however, that over and above such necessary repair, construction or rebuilding of the fabric, when actually complete, there shall be any surplus sum of money out of such oblations, whereof and by means of which the rents of the church may be increased, then out of the same shall possessions be acquired, and, when they have been acquired to such an extent that they can really and with effect suffice for this purpose, the dean and canons shall be bound, with the consent of the local ordinary, to make a reasonable increase, in accordance with the requirements and the amount of the acquisitions, in the number of canons as originally fixed by statute.

Statute 67 in B, which adds after 'increased' the qualifying clause: 'and there be no other great necessity by reason of which such money should be converted to some other use of the church'.

69. OF GOODS LEFT BY DECEASED PERSONS IN SPECIAL OR IN GENERAL

Sundry goods left in general by deceased canons and vicars shall be divided among the canons and vicars by the dean in equal portions, and goods left to the church shall be applied to the use of its fabric.

Statute 68 in B.

70. OF THE THREE CHESTS THAT ARE TO BE SET IN THE CHURCH AND OF THEIR CUSTODY, AND WHAT SHALL BE LAID IN EACH CHEST

Three chests shall be ordained and set[101] in the church, whereof every one shall be locked with three keys and different locks; and of the three keys one shall remain with the dean, another with the provost[102] and the third with the sacrist. In the first of these shall be put together the muniments of the church and the money received for copes,[103] in the second the jewels and relics, and in the third the books belonging to the chapter in

100 In margin: *What shall be done with that which remains over after the repair of the church.*

101 B omits 'and set'.

102 Altered in B to 'almoner'.

103 As A 22 had been abrogated by its omission, the mention of cope-money is omitted from B.

common,[104] which shall in no wise be lent to anyone outside the church.

Statute 69 in B.

71. OF THE CUSTODY OF THE COMMON SEAL

The dean and chapter shall have a common seal, to be kept under three different keys, whereof one shall remain with the dean, another with the provost[105] and the third with the sacrist.

Statute 70 in B.

72. HOW THE MUNIMENTS OF THE CHURCH SHALL NOT BE DISPLAYED TO STRANGERS

The muniments and deeds[106] which concern the church shall be exhibited to no stranger, unless there be great and urgent necessity.

Statute 71 in B.

73. HOW THE PROVOST SHALL FURNISH THE EXPENSES OF ALL WITH REGARD TO THE BUSINESS OF THE CHURCH, AND TITHES AND TAXES ALSO

Tenths payable to the pope or the king, or to the legate or nuncio of the apostolic see or to any other ecclesiastical person, and all other extraordinary burthens which concern the church, and also the necessary expenses which the dean, canons or vicars must incur about its business affairs, when they happen to go abroad on such business, shall be paid by the hands of the provost out of the common goods of the church.

Statute 72 in B.

74. HOW CORRODIES SHALL NOT BE SOLD

No corrodies shall be sold, given, or in any wise assigned or granted for any reason, occasion or cause by the dean and chapter or any one of them in and[107] out of the church.

Statute 73 in B.

75. OF PRESENTEES TO THE VICARAGES OF CHURCHES APPROPRIATED TO THE COLLEGE

Every person who is to be presented to the vicarages of churches appropriated[108] to the collegiate church shall be presented by the dean and chapter to the local diocesan and shall be admitted and instituted by him.

Statute 74 in B.

104 *Libri communitatis.*

105 Altered in B to 'almoner'.

106 *Instrumenta.*

107 B omits 'in and'.

108 B adds 'or to be appropriated'.

76. HOW IT SHALL BE LAWFUL FOR ANYONE TO FOUND A CHANTRY IN THE COLLEGE WITH THE CONSENT OF THE BISHOP, THE DEAN AND THE CHAPTER

It shall be lawful for any man, with the consent of the local diocesan and of the dean and chapter, to found a perpetual chantry in the church, after an endowment has first been sufficiently and really assigned for such chantry by its founder in the presence of the local diocesan and the dean. The chaplain to be admitted to this chantry shall be bound to walk about habited like the rest of the vicars and to be present at the canonical hours, at any rate on greater double feasts.

Statute 75 in B.

77. HOW THE STATUTES SHALL BE READ INTELLIGIBLY TO THE CANONS AND VICARS BEFORE THEIR INSTALLATION

The ordinances and statutes shall be expounded intelligibly or read distinctly both to the dean and to the canons and vicars before they are installed and inducted into real possession. The dean[109] at his installation or induction, and every canon and vicar at their inductions or installations, shall take and in person make, touching bodily the holy Gospels of God in presence of the canons and vicars then in residence, the following oath to take zealous care for the advantage and to avoid and eschew aught that is unprofitable to the collegiate church, for the greater surety of all that is aforeset. The form[110] of the which oath shall be as follows: I N. from this hour hereafter will be faithful to the new collegiate church of blessed Mary of Leicester and to my brethren the canons—if[111] the oath is to be taken by a vicar, the words 'and vicars' shall here be added—of the same, and, so far as concerns me will faithfully keep the ordinances and statutes of the same collegiate church uttered by apostolic authority in this behalf by the reverend father in Christ the lord John, by the grace of God bishop of Lincoln.[112] And I will defend and protect the rights and liberties of the church aforesaid to the best of my power, so help me God and these holy Gospels. And each one of the canons, vicars, clerks and ministers, the chorister boys excepted, shall severally be bound at his induction or installation to take oaths upon the holy Gospels of God in the presence of the canons and

109 In margin: *Of the oath to be proffered by the dean and every canon and vicar at the time of their installations and inductions.*

110 In margin: *Form of the oath of the dean and canons.*

111 Altered in B into 'and when'.

112 B adds 'and the laudable customs of the same, and, so far as concerns me, will not knowingly infringe any one of them fraudulently or craftily'.

vicars to do fealty and obedience to the dean as regards his lawful and canonical mandates; the which oath of fealty and obedience every dean shall be bound to receive immediately after his installation from each of the canons, vicars, clerks and ministers then present, and afterwards from those who are absent, when they come into residence.

Statute 76 in B, which, after the word 'Gospels' at the conclusion of the oath, inserts the following provision: 'Also we ordain and decree with the consent of the duke that the general oath to keep the statutes of the church, whereof mention is made in a previous statute, shall in no wise be extended to those statutes above uttered whereby the dean and the rest of the canons are bound to be present in person at matins and at the other canonical hours and at high mass,[113] nor shall those statutes include it in themselves, lest they lightly may incur perjury, especially seeing that sufficient provision has already been made in this case for another penalty'.

78. APART FROM THE LIGHT CONTAINED IN THE FOREGOING STATUTES, THE SACRIST SHALL FIND AND MAINTAIN YEARLY ON PRINCIPAL FEASTS AND GREATER DOUBLES EIGHT[114] TAPERS, ETC.

The text of this supplementary chapter has already been given under statute 53*a*, as an addition made to the same statute (52) in B. That addition, however, omits the clause which here occurs between the provision for the greater festivals and that for Sundays, *viz.*, 'And of these we also will that on other minor feasts three shall burn on one side and three on the other at matins, masses and vespers, and two on one side and two on the other at all the other hours'.

Here the founder's statutes conclude. If the modifications and additions in the revised copy be carefully noted, it will be seen that their general effect is to elucidate and simplify passages of which the original wording was somewhat vague, to remove superfluities and to co-ordinate the loose arrangement of subject. But to this revised copy (B) a codicil was added. The original statutes premised, as has been seen, the appropriation of the college of the five churches of Hannington, Higham Ferrers, Raunds, Edmondthorpe and Wymondham. Since then, however, the duke had added the two Welsh churches to his gifts. Although the churches of Higham and Raunds were not actually appro-

113 See statute 33 above, expanded in B into five chapters (27-31).

114 The number should be ten, as in B.

priated until 1357, and although in 1355-6 the royal licence for the appropriation of Pembrey and Llandyfaelog had not yet been obtained, yet the codicil refers to their appropriation and to that of Hannington as though the episcopal decrees in each case had already been issued.[115] From the additional sources thus gained or immediately in prospect a general rise in stipends was ordained and new ordinances were made.

These now follow. For the sake of convenience they are numbered continuously with the statutes in the B version.

B. 77. After the preamble rehearsing the additional endowments, the statute proceeds: 'Wishing therefore, over and above the portions thus assigned, considering the increase in the resources of the church and the excess of the abundance of its goods over its burthens, to make a more bountiful endowment, we expressly ordain with the consent of the duke that the dean for the time being, over and above the portion originally assigned to him by us at the first foundation in the name of his canonry and prebend and expressed in our letters with a deduction,[116] shall receive yearly at the hands of the provost ten marks sterling (*etc.*, as in statute 5).

This statute restores the dean's portion to the original sum of twenty marks which had been reduced in B to ten.

B. 78. We decree and ordain with the consent of the duke that the dean for the time being shall have and receive six cartloads of hay and ten quarters of oats or pease for his horses, to be paid by the hands of the provost out of the goods of the church.

A new statute.

B. 79. Also we decree and ordain with the consent of the duke that each of the other canons, in the name of and as his prebend, shall receive yearly for ever five marks sterling in cash or in other goods in manner aforesaid, over and above the portion assigned to him by us at the first foundation in the name of his canonry and prebend, and expressed in our letters with a serial deduction,[117] to be paid by equal portions at the aforesaid terms by the hands of the provost.

115 The preamble of the codicil definitely states that the dean and chapter had obtained peaceful possession of Higham Ferrers and Hannington. It seems probable that, although the B version and its codicil are dated and witnessed on the same day and by the same persons as the original statutes, they were not composed till some time later, and were predated to bring them into line with the earlier version.

116 *I.e.*, in the B version.

117 *I.e.*, as affecting the whole series of prebends.

See statute 6, which prescribed twenty marks as the portion of each canon. This, reduced to ten marks in B, is now heightened to fifteen.

B. 80. Also we decree and ordain with the will and consent of the duke that, when the number of the vicars, choristers and other ministers and also of the poor folk instituted at the foundation shall be complete, and the resources of the church shall be found to be abundant and sufficient in this respect, thenceforward each of the canons shall receive yearly for ever at the terms above appointed, in the name of and as his prebend, ten marks sterling, wherein we will that the aforesaid five marks shall be reckoned, over and above the portion of his prebend originally assigned to him by us at the foundation.

A conditional increase of the canons' stipends to the full quota of twenty marks prescribed in statute 6.

B. 81. The provost, over and above the portion otherwise assigned to him by us at the foundation for the due support of the charges incumbent upon his provostship, whereof fuller mention is made in our said letters, shall keep for himself yearly out of the goods of the church, in more abundant recompense of his labours, five marks of the said money in cash or other goods in manner aforeset, in equal portions at the said terms.

See statute 7. The full sum of ten marks there prescribed and reduced to five in B is now restored.

B. 82. Also we will and ordain with the consent of the duke that the provost for the time being shall have two horses with hay and litter supplied by the church[118] and thirteen quarters of oats or pease for his horses out of the goods and manors of the church. And if it happen (*etc.*, as in statute 52).

This restores, but in a revised form, the clauses of 52 omitted in B 51.

B 83. Also we decree and ordain with the will and assent of the duke that the sacrist, for the more abundant support of the charges incumbent upon his office of sacrist, over and above the portion assigned by us elsewhere by reason of such charges, concerning which there is fuller information in our said letters, shall yearly receive twenty shillings sterling in cash (*etc.*, as in statute 8).

The sum of twenty shillings had already been named in B 8 instead of the twenty marks originally prescribed. The latter

118 *Ad fenum et literam ecclesie antedicte.*

sum, however, is obviously wrong, and the present statute appears merely to confirm the correction made in B.

B 84. Every one of the three clerks shall and should receive yearly for his raiment a mark of the aforesaid money out of the common goods of the church at the hands of the provost about Christmas, over and above the portion of forty shillings elsewhere assigned to each of them by us for their stipends and victuals, concerning which there is fuller information in our letters aforesaid.

This re-enacts statute 10, with the restoration of the portion omitted in B.

B. 85. We decree moreover with the consent and assent of the duke that the sacrist shall yearly receive for the raiment and winter coats of each of the choristers and their other necessaries, over and above the portion of forty shillings elsewhere assigned by us to each of them for his victuals, thirteen shillings and fourpence, to be ministered to such choristers, payable by the hands of the provost to the sacrist at Michaelmas out of the common goods of the church.

A similar re-enactment of statute 11 on the original lines.

B 86. The choristers shall be at the table and board of the sacrist, and for such their board and table he shall receive a certain sum of money, not excessive but reasonable, to be assessed and limited at the free discretion of the dean, who shall oversee that the choristers are in all things well treated and governed by the sacrist, as is becoming.

A new statute, which abrogates the direction that the choristers should eat together in their house, contained in statute 65.

B 87. Also we ordain and decree with the will and consent of the duke, that each of the canons shall receive yearly forty shillings sterling, or in gold only, from each of the vicars for the same vicars' board; the which vicars, whether in the presence or absence of the canons, shall abide in the lodging[119] of the canons and stay with them at their board continually, save only during such periods of absence and recreation as for lawful cause shall fall to the vicars.

A new statute which takes the place of the provisions for the construction of a lodging for the vicars contained in 64.

[119] *Hospicium.*

B 88. Also we will and ordain with the consent of the duke that those four cartloads of logs for fuel which the dean and canons should receive from the duke's forest by Leicester shall be thus divided; to wit, the poor folk for the time being dwelling in the college shall receive two of such cartloads, and the dean and four of the canons one, half whereof the dean shall take, and the four canons the other half. The other eight canons shall have and receive the fourth cartload from the forest, to be divided in equal portions among themselves, yearly and for ever.

A new statute.

B 89. The dean shall oversee and make diligent enquiry how the said vicars are honestly and suitably treated in the lodgings and at the board of each of the canons. Every canon shall deal with his vicar, as he will answer for it in the presence of the dean in chapter.[120] Nevertheless we will that they shall be corrected in chapter according to the purport of the former ordinance.

A new statute consequent upon 87.

B 90. Also we will and ordain with the express consent of the duke that every one of the poor folk, to wit of the fifty established of old in the hospital, and the other fifty newly added by us[121] to their number, over and above the sum elsewhere assigned to them by us[122] for weekly distribution, if wheat be sold in those parts at ten shillings a quarter, shall receive and have a halfpenny each for every day on Friday in every week at the hands of the almoner or of another person in his name, to be paid to the almoner out of the common goods of the church by the provost or by another of the canons in his name.

A partial re-enactment of a provision in statute 12 which was altered in B.

B 91. We decree also with the consent of the duke that, if any of the poor folk after his entry shall contract leprosy (*etc., as in statute* 13, *down to the words*) receives in the college.

A re-enactment of a provision in statute 13 which was omitted in B.

B 92. We decree also with the consent of the duke that forty poor folk of the number of a hundred poor to be set in the said church, who shall be resident or abiding therein, shall have coats

[120] B omits 'in chapter'.

[121] B omits 'newly added by us'.

[122] B omits 'by us'.

and hoods on the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, to be bought by the provost at the cost of the church and to be delivered to the poor by the almoner.

A modification of statute 15, omitted in B.

B 93. The aforesaid fifty poor men who are added (*etc.*, as in statute 16.

A re-enactment of statute 16, with the omission of the mention of the five women.

B 94. We decree and ordain with the consent of the duke that no women, and especially strangers, in whose case any sinister suspicion may arise, nor any married women, shall be received by day or night in the houses of the dean, canons and vicars, unless leave have been first obtained from the dean or from his lieutenant, and their stay have been limited by the dean or his lieutenant, under pain of subtraction (*etc., as in statute* 66).

A re-enactment of statute 66 with some modification.

B 95. If it happen that any of the ten serving-women fall ill, so that she be insufficient for the charge enjoined upon her, another who is sufficient to fulfil the charge shall be substituted for her by the dean, and she who is infirm shall succeed to the place of the first of the poor folk who deceases; and in the mean time she shall be provided with suitable means of living, as one of the said poor folk, by the dean out of the common goods of the church.

A new statute.

B 96. The clerks and choristers for the time being shall have and receive from the sacrist, at the cost of the church, such habits as have the clerks and choristers in the church of Salisbury, in the which they have to go about at matins, masses and all the other canonical hours.

A new statute.

B 97. Each of the canons, when he passes through the several manors of the collegiate church, shall have logs for fuel, hay, provender[123] and litter for two horses once or twice a year, but, if this be had, he shall stay only for a day and two nights therein.

A new statute.

123 *Prebendam.*

B 98. Also we decree and ordain with the consent of the duke that the hundred poor folk shall have a lamp to burn by night in the house wherein they lie, at the cost of the church.

A new statute.

B 99. If any private property be found in the possession of the poor folk or any one of them at their decease in the said house of the collegiate church, it shall be converted to the use of the church, so that they shall make no disposal of the same.

A new statute.

The number of statutes thus completed is 99.[124] Their further revision will be discussed in its proper place. Meanwhile the growth of the property of the college and the purposes to which it was assigned during the second half of the fourteenth and the fifteenth century will be traced.

124 In the Latin text of the statutes as printed in *Archaeol. Journal* u.s. statutes A 42, 53, 54 were divided, as in B, into ten chapters, and A contained 85 chapters in all. The chapters of the codicil were numbered in continuation of A, 86—108, instead of being continued from B.

IV

HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE, 1361-1440

On 4 June, 1361, some two or three months after the death of duke Henry, the dean and canons obtained letters of protection for their manors and places of Leicester, Chedworth, Hannington, Kempsford and Wollaston, and for their churches of Duffield, Higham Ferrers, Irchester, Llandyfaelog, Pembrey and Raunds, and all their other places.[1] The college remained undisturbed in most of its possessions,[2] and in John of Gaunt and his duchess it found generous benefactors. On 9 September, 1363, this prince and princess had licence to alienate in mortmain the advowson of Llanelly in Carmarthenshire, a third church belonging to the lordship of Kidwelly, to the dean and canons, who had licence to appropriate.[3] As a compensation to the bishop and chapter of St. David's[4] and to the archdeacon of Carmarthen for the appropriation of the three churches, the duke and duchess alienated to the bishop for appropriation the church of St. Ishmael's, which stands on the east side of the mouth of the Towy, opposite the noble ruin of Llanstephan castle.[5] The king secured the canons against any possible attempt of the Crown, during a voidance of the deanery, to make any claim on account of the recent grant of the church of Llanelly, by letters patent of 4 Dec., 1363.[6] Mentions of the Welsh churches occur now and then in the register of John of Gaunt. On 7 July, 1374, Thomas Hungerford, the duke's chief steward in Wales, had an order to deliver to the dean and canons six oaks suitable for timber from the wood of "Kengorath", to be used for the repair of the rectory

1 *Cal. Pat.*, 1361-4, p. 25. The manor of Inglesham is omitted.

2 In the revised statutes of 1491 it is stated (No. 80) that the college lost a great part of its original endowment after the duke's death. There seems to have been some delay in the acquisition of the manor of Inglesham, and there was a long delay before the advowson of Preston was secured and the church appropriated; but otherwise, apart from a possible diminution in rents, the foundation endowments seem to have suffered little if any alteration.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 387.

4 There was no dean at St. David's in the middle ages : the present office is a modern innovation. The archdeacon of St. David's was president of the chapter.

5 *Cal. Pat.*, 1364-7, pp. 57-8 : date of licence, 20 Dec., 1364.

6 *Ibid.*, 1361-4, p. 432.

house at Llanelly.[7] In the same year a dispute arose between the canons and the parishioners of Pembrey respecting Glebe, nnd the chapter sued out a writ of *juris utrum*. On 7 Aug., the duke ordered Hungerford and William Tuttebury, his receiver at Kidwelly, to seize the fruits of the debated glebe-land until judgment was given;[8] and on 4 Nov., another mandate was issued to Hungerford to see that judgment was delivered according to the local custom of Wales.[9]

The works of the college and church progressed without a break for some years after the death of duke Henry. On 8 November, 1363, Edward III, on the information of William of Wykeham, appointed Richard of Barwell, clerk, Robert of Tatersale and Richard le Porter to impress twenty-four workmen and take carriage for material for the completion of the buildings of the college, their wages to be paid by duke Henry's executors.[10] A similar appointment seven years later, on 16 October, 1370, was made for Simon Bache, clerk, John de Bynyngton and Thomas de Walcote.[11] The payments necessary for the carrying on of the work appear to have been made to John Charnels, who at this time was probably receiver for the duchy in the honour of Leicester. On 2 June, 1372, William Chiselden, who had held the fourth prebend in the college since 1369, and was dean 1390-6, was appointed receiver for the works of the church in place of Charnels.[12] In 1373 Chiselden was instructed to devote £75 of his receipts to the part payment of one of duke Henry's debts.[13] A grant of a hundred marks yearly out of the honour of Tutbury for the completion of the church was made by John of Gaunt on 6th Aug., 1374 : this sum was payable in two equal moieties at Michaelmas and Easter, and the dean and canons were ordered to account for its expenditure to the duke's auditors or their deputies.[14] From the wording of the documents of this period it seems that the

7 *John of Gaunt's Register*, ed. Armitage Smith, ii, 219. The name "Kengorath" suggests Cefnywrach as the modern spelling of the word, but the name does not appear in the ordnance maps.

8 *Ibid.*, ii, 251.

9 *Ibid.*, ii, 273.

10 *Cal. Pat.*, 1361-4, p. 410.

11 *Ibid.*, 1367-70, pp. 462-3. Simon Bache became dean of the collegiate church of St. Mary in the Castle in 1382 (*Wyggeston Hospital Records*, No. 552).

12 *John of Gaunt's Register*, ut sup., ii, 69. Charnels was rector of Preston, in Lancashire, and died before 29 Sept., 1374, leaving his rectory house in a state of dilapidation. His successor at Preston was Ralph Erghum, the duke's chancellor, bishop of Salisbury, 1375-88, and of Bath and Wells 1388-1400 (*Ibid.*, i, 89; ii, 252, 257).

13 *Ibid.*, ii, 219.

14 *Ibid.*, i, 245.

church was the only building of importance which still remained unfinished. In addition to his benefactions to the building, John of Gaunt provided for the better estate of the canons' vicars by ordering that, when any of the churches or vicarages belonging to the college fell vacant, preference in the matter of presentation should be given to a vicar of the church, notwithstanding the influence which local magnates might attempt to exercise on behalf of their own candidates.[15]

It has already been seen that in 1343-4 the hospital had obtained a licence for the acquisition in mortmain of land and rent to the value of £10. Of this sum half was acquired in 1368 by the alienation of eight messuages, three shops, a toft, six acres of land and two of meadow in the suburb of Leicester, valued yearly at £3 5s. 8d., licence for which was granted on 5 May to John of Knyghton, John of Burton and John of Banbery, chaplains.[16] A further two pounds is accounted for by two licences of 4 November, 1373, by which William of Chiselden, with the before mentioned Knyghton and Burton, was empowered to alienate a toft in the suburb of Leicester, and John of Stokton and William of Swepston, chaplains, a messuage, five tofts, fifteen acres of land and a third of a messuage in Knighton, Leicester and its suburb. The yearly value of these pieces of property was extended at 9s. 5½d.[17] We shall see that the total sum of ten pounds was satisfied in 1392.

The letters of protection issued by Edward III in 1361 were confirmed to the dean and canons by Richard II on 14 November, 1378.[18] Within the next few years the college acquired an important addition to its property. On 12 January, 1379-80, Simon Symeon and Peter Mousle,[19] parson of Willoughby, obtained a licence from the Crown, for which Simon paid 130 marks, to alienate in mortmain to the dean and canons the manor and advowson of Cransley in Northamptonshire, near Kettering. The alienation was made for the soul of duke Henry, while the grantors and others, living and dead, were included among its objects. In the final version, however, the name of Simon Symeon's wife, Elizabeth, was substituted for that of Peter Mousle among the beneficiaries of the prayers of dean and canons, and the common addition of other pious objects to that of inter-

15 *Ibid.*, i, 51.

16 *Cal. Pat.*, 1367-71, p. 104.

17 *Ibid.*, 1371-4, p. 361.

18 *Ibid.*, 1377-81, p. 294. The manor of Inglesham is again left unmentioned, and the church of Llanelly is not included.

19 *i.e.*, Mowsley or Moseley.

cession was made.[20] Further, on 8 March following, Simon paid £40 for a licence to alienate for the same object £20 of rent out of the manor of Elmsall in the West Riding of Yorkshire.[21]

The name of Simon Symeon occurs again and again in the official records of more than fifty years. He rose to prosperity in the service of the house of Lancaster as one of earl Henry's yeomen,[22] and one of the earliest mentions of his name is as a defender of Caerphilly castle against queen Isabel—an occasion notable as the only one on which the greatest masterpiece of English military architecture served its purpose, until its obsolete defences were temporarily employed in the civil wars.[23] He went abroad in earl Henry's train in the autumn of 1329.[24] Some ten years later, while fighting in Flanders, he was taken and imprisoned in the castle of 'Rypplemond',[25] and received various grants from the Crown in compensation for the heavy ransom which he had to pay. The place with which from this time he became most closely connected was Grafton Underwood, near Kettering.[26] It would be tedious to follow him through his various acquisitions of property, the business transactions in which we find him engaged from time to time with John Gynewell, Walter Power, and other well-known servants of the house of Lancaster, and the commissions of oyer and terminer and of sea-walls and dykes in which his name figures prominently. His interests were widely scattered throughout England: he had been keeper of Havering park in Essex[27] and steward of Savernake forest[28]: he was lord of the manor of Surfleet in Lincolnshire[29] and a person of importance throughout the parts of Holland;[30] while he also held property of the honour of Ponte-

20 *Ibid.*, pp. 425, 427.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 451.

22 *Ibid.*, 1327-30, p. 442 (12 Sept., 1329).

23 *Ibid.*, pp. 13, 38 (20 Feb., 1326-7).

24 *Ibid.*, p. 442.

25 *Ibid.*, 1338-40, p. 393. 'Rypplemond' appears to be Rupelmonde, near Antwerp.

26 *Ibid.*; see also *ibid.*, 1340-3, pp. 334, 488; 1343-5, p. 26; 1348-50, pp. 57, 265; 1381-5, p. 387.

27 *Ibid.*, 1330-4, p. 37.

28 *Ibid.*, 1340-3, p. 510.

29 *Ibid.*, 1348-50, p. 589. As lord of Surfleet, he brought an action against three men who carried away a stranded whale worth £100, which he claimed as wreck of sea (12 July, 1350). On 10 April, 1349, he was commissioner in a similar case brought by Henry, earl of Lancaster, to recover the value of a whale worth £200, which had been cast ashore at Wrangle in the liberty of Bolingbroke (*ibid.*, p. 316).

30 *E.g.*, commissioner of array in 1377 and 1379-80 (*ibid.*, 1377-81, pp. 38, 472).

fract in Yorkshire.[31] It is evident that he thoroughly gained the confidence of his masters. As we have seen, duke Henry appointed "Sinkyn" one of his executors, and, a month before his death, we find him making a grant to his esquire Symkyn Symeon of housbote and heybote within his parks of Pontefract, Ackworth, Rothwell and Roundhay.[32] Other grants of lands were made to this favourite esquire by duke Henry in his lifetime.[33] Under John of Gaunt Simon was steward of the duchy in the county of Lincoln,[34] and was employed in various affairs in that county. About 1374, for example, he and Godfrey Foljambe were commissioned by the duke, as patron of Spalding priory, to enquire into and check the trespass of the abbot of Croyland, who had erected gallows upon the land of the priory in the manors of Weston and Moulton.[35] His Yorkshire possessions included Kilburn, in the North Riding. In September, 1374, he was ordered to supply timber from his park there for the repair of Pickering castle.[36] His interest in the churches and religious foundations upon his masters' estates is shown by his request for timber for the repair of the chapel of Marchington, near Tutbury,[37] and by his provisions for the foundation of a chantry in the chapel on the mount at Pontefract, the scene of the execution of earl Thomas, as well as at Leicester. To further the endowment of the Pontefract chantry he granted land at Middleton by Rothwell, between Leeds and Wakefield, to John of Gaunt, who in his turn granted it in trust for the chantry priest to the prior and convent of Pontefract.[38] Long after his death—he disappears from view about 1385—he was remembered as "Symkyn" by the inmates of the college at Leicester.[39] In the year 1381, while he was engaged in transferring the manor and church of Cransley to the dean and canons, he was also active in resisting the peasants' revolt and repressing assemblies of insurgents.[40]

By a tripartite indenture, bearing date 1 March, 1381-2, of which Simon kept one part, the dean and canons another, and the bishop of Lincoln a third, Simon made over the manor and

[31] *e.g. ibid.*, 1358-61, p. 566 (21 Feb., 1360-1), referring to his manor of 'Nowestyde' and house of Oulton, near Rothwell.

[32] *Ibid.*

[33] *John of Gaunt's Register*, u.s., i, 111, 112.

[34] *Ibid.*, i, 55, 56. [35] *Ibid.*, ii, 225, 226. [36] *Ibid.*, ii, 244.

[37] *Ibid.*, ii, 232. [38] *Ibid.*, i, 126, 127.

[39] This appears from a passage in bishop Atwater's Visitations.

[40] *Cal. Pat.*, 1381-5, p. 70.

advowson of Cransley to the college for the perpetual celebration of mass daily and for other works of piety to be done according to his ordinance. This chantry was appointed for the soul of duke Henry, for the healthful estate of John of Gaunt, his son Henry, earl of Derby, Simon Symeon and Elizabeth his wife, for their souls after death and the souls of the fathers and mothers of Simon and Elizabeth and all the faithful departed. Five shillings sterling were to be distributed every Friday to the poor in the college bedehouse, and especially to the blind and bedridden. On Simon's obit day yearly ten shillings were to be distributed among the hundred bedefolk and ten shillings among a hundred poor, especially blind people, outside the college. On that day the office and mass of the dead were to be sung,[41] and one of the canons was to say mass at the altar which Simon had constructed in the north part of the church. If the dean said mass, he was to have two shillings: each of the canons present had twelve pence, each vicar sixpence, each chorister threepence, and each of the three clerks sixpence for being present and ringing the bells, as upon other obits of founders and benefactors. Further, Simon made over the £20 rent for which he had obtained licence, from lands and tenements in North and South Elmsall and Mensthorpe,[42] prescribing the dean and canons to cause three masses to be said daily at the above altar, viz., one of Requiem, one of the Holy Trinity or of the day with a memorial of one when the other was celebrated, and one of our Lady, the priests celebrating to pray for the persons aforesaid. In the case both of the Cransley endowment and the Yorkshire rent, the chapter bound themselves to pay a hundred shillings to Simon during his lifetime for any default in performance, and to the bishop of Lincoln after his death. Default in the daily chantry masses was taken to imply a period of eight days.[43]

The college had licence to appropriate the church of Cransley, and this took place in 1385, when Adam Glover, rector since 3 July, 1375,[44] resigned and the first vicar, Richard Barouns, was

[41] *Cum nota, i.e.*, with musical notation—the phrase commonly used in this context.

[42] Elmsall, which is between Doncaster and Wakefield, is alone mentioned in the royal licence. Mensthorpe is a hamlet in the township of North Elmsall, forming part of the manor.

[43] Lincoln Epis. Reg. xii, f. 360; repeated on f. 392. It will be noted that the fruits of Cransley were entirely set apart for the distribution of alms, while the £20 rent went to the payment of three stipendiary priests, each of whom would get ten marks (£6 13s. 4d.) yearly.

[44] *Ibid.*, x, f. 201.

instituted. A vicarage, however, had already been ordained by Bishop Buckingham at Liddington on 3 January, 1383-4. This interesting document fixes the yearly stipend of the vicar at twelve marks (£8), to be paid in cash in three equal portions on the first days of December, March and July. The dean and chapter undertook most of the burdens, but the vicar was to find and minister bread, wine, chrism and holy oil, incense and light at his own expense. The vicarage house is carefully described. At the west end of the hall of the rectory was a block of buildings projecting northward and containing an east and west room on the upper floor and corresponding rooms below, the east room having been the great chamber of the rectory. A house for storing hay which had been recently built against the west side of this block was turned into the hall of the vicarage. A little garden on the north side of these buildings with a pond was given to the vicarage, and an old sheepfold on the north side of the garden did duty for the vicar's kitchen, stable and hay-loft. The dean and canons were to make two dividing walls, one from the north-west corner of the great chamber to the north-east corner of the vicar's hall, the other from the other angle of the hall to the west wall of the rectory, over against the manor house and hard by the public way to the church. All the land between this wall and the churchyard was reserved to the vicar.[45]

The next landmark in the enrichment of the college occurs in 1392, when, on 2 July, the dean and canons obtained for £50 a licence to acquire £40 of land and rent in mortmain in augmentation of their church and its services.[46] On 9 August, the old licence for £10 of land and rent, originally granted in 1343-4, expired, when William Hayton and Richard Elvet, clerks, had licence, for five marks, to alienate in mortmain to the college nine messuages, nine shops, sixteen tofts, six acres of land, 11 acres, 1 rood of meadow, nine shillings rent and a rent of one capon, one hen, and half a pound of cumin in Leicester and its suburbs, the value of which made up the full complement of £10.[47] Meanwhile the buildings still remained incomplete, for although, as we have seen, John of Gaunt had shown some interest in their progress, he had not inherited his father-in-law's single-eyed devotion to the college. For a quarter of a century after 1374 we have no direct evidence of his active connection with the college, until within a short time of his death. On 16 February, 1396-7, he obtained a writ of aid for Robert Skillyngton,

45 *Ibid.*, xi, f. 132 *d.*
46 *Cal. Pat.*, 1391-6, p. 106.
47 *Ibid.*, p. 142 : Elvet is wrongly printed as Elnet.

mason, and John Wardale, to hire and provide twenty-four masons, carpenters and workmen, and procure material with carriage for completing the work at his own charges.[48] It seems, however, that at an earlier date, when he had taken seisin of the manors and lordships upon which, as we have seen, a rent of 1,000 marks had been contingent, he had given 100 marks yearly out of the lordship of Leicester to the fabric fund for completing the church, cloister, houses, walls and other necessary things. This may be identical with the grant out of the honour of Tutbury made in 1374. On his death in 1398-9, the dean and canons petitioned Richard II to continue the payment out of his escheated lands. The king granted payment to be made, so long as the work remained unfinished, by the receivers of Edward, duke of Aumale, to whom the custody of the lordship of Leicester had been committed after the forfeiture of Henry of Bolingbroke's estates to the Crown.[49] Thus the future duke of York, the founder of the college of Fotheringhay, the mausoleum of his house, comes for a moment into connexion with the more splendid foundation of the rival branch of the house of Plantagenet.

By the will of John of Gaunt[50] two chantries, each of two priests, were ordered to be founded, one in St. Paul's cathedral, where the duchess Blanche and he himself were buried, the other in the college of Leicester, where he had laid his second wife, Constance of Castile. The terms describing his second chantry are as follows : 'Also I will, ordain and devise that of my goods and chattels my executors[51] do ordain and establish in the new church of our Lady of Leicester a chantry of two chaplains to celebrate divine service therein for ever for me and my soul and

48 *Ibid.*, 1396-9, p. 74.
49 *Ibid.*, p. 490 (20 March, 1398-9). The duke of Aumale was the king's cousin, the son of Edmund, duke of York. Better known as earl of Rutland, he was created duke of Aumale in 1397 as a reward for his share in the appeal brought against the duke of Gloucester and the earl of Arundel. On the accession of Henry IV, he forfeited his duchy, but succeeded his father as duke of York, and died at Agincourt in 1415.
50 Text printed in Nichols, *Royal Wills*, pp. 159, 160.
51 These were Richard Metford, bishop of Salisbury, Tideman of Winchcombe, bishop of Worceser, Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, steward of the household, William Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, treasurer of England, Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, masters Walter Blownt, John Dabruggecourt, William Par, Hugh Warton, and Thomas Skelton, John Cocayn, the duke's steward, sir Robert Quenby, his attorney-general, Piers Melburn, William Keteryng, Robert Hayt-feld, comptroller of his household, sir John Legburn, his receiver general (afterwards archdeacon of Leicester), and Thomas Langley, clerk (afterwards bishop of Durham). Robert Whitteby (see p. 91, note 62) is not named among the original executors.

the soul of my late well-beloved consort dame Constance who is buried there,[52] and to hold and cause to be held an obit for the soul of my said late consort on the 24th day of March yearly for ever. And that my executors, to do and maintain this perpetually, do, by the counsel of men of law, endow the abovesaid church of my goods sufficiently for the maintenance of the chantries and obits abovesaid'.

Between the date of the will and the actual foundation of John of Gaunt's chantry came the revolution which placed the house of Lancaster upon the throne. One gift to the college towards the end of Richard II's reign was a watermill on the Thames at Hannington with the weir, multure of corn and suit appurtenant to the mill, the fishery of the mill and weir, and a moiety of a hide of land in Hannington; for the alienation of which licence was granted on 1 November, 1398, to Gilbert Elvet, John of Stukley and Peter Barwell.[53] Gilbert Elvet was one of three brothers who originally, as their name shows, came from Durham, of which Elvet is the eastern suburb. Two of them became closely identified with Leicester, John as archdeacon, Richard also as archdeacon and as dean of the Newarke. John Elvet was a clerk in the household of John of Gaunt[54] and for a time was receiver of the chamber and keeper of the jewels to Henry IV.[55]

The letters of protection of 1361 were re-confirmed by Henry IV on 1 November, 1399,[56] and on 9 March following a writ of aid for masons and material was granted to John Byngham and others in the usual terms.[57] A similar writ on 26 March states that John of Gaunt had desired to complete the buildings,[58] which were certainly progressing very slowly. In the same year, on 4 July, 1400, Henry IV granted the church of Preston, in Lancashire, with licence for appropriation, to the dean and canons.[59]

52 *Ma nadgaires tresame compaigne Dame Constance illeouques enterres.*

53 *Cal. Pat.*, 1396-9, p. 443.

54 On 8 April, 1399, he received confirmation of a grant made him by John of Gaunt on 12 August, 1391, of ten marks a year for life out of the issues of the honour of Leicester (*ibid.*, p. 543). It may be noted that John and Richard Elvet were both among the names added in 1400 to those for whose good estate the four chaplains of the chantry in St. Martin's, Leicester, founded in 1392, were bound to pray (*ibid.*, 1399-1401, p. 371).

55 *Ibid.*, 1401-5, p. 29.

56 *Ibid.*, 1399-1401, p. 139.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 230.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 247. The text is printed by Nichols, *Hist. of Leicestershire*, Vol. I, appendix, p. 110.

59 *Cal. Pat.*, 1399-1401, p. 341.

As we have seen, this had formed part of duke Henry's endowment, but for some reason or other had been withdrawn. Further, on 12 January, 1400-1, the dean, Richard Elvet, obtained licence to found a chantry of two chaplains in the collegiate church for the good estate of the king and John Elvet, clerk, for their souls after death, and for the souls of John of Gaunt and his wife Constance. For this purpose the king granted for appropriation the church of Arnold in Nottinghamshire, the fruits to form the maintenance of the chaplains.[60] This licence, however, was modified by the substitution of one chaplain for two, and the addition of the obit of John Elvet. It here appears that the Crown held Arnold church by grant of the said John. The prior and convent of Laund had licence to release to the dean and canons a pension of four marks out of the church.[61]

The chantry of John of Gaunt and Constance was licensed by letters patent of 8 March, 1402-3, in the terms already prescribed; while the licence for the chantry of John and Blanche in St. Paul's was granted next day.[62] Although neither John nor his son Henry IV was buried in the church of the college, each of them buried a wife there. In June, 1404, when the rebellion of Owain Glyndwr made it necessary to raise large sums of money, Henry specially exempted the college from all extraordinary contributions so long as the rebellion lasted, and so long as they were hindered from receiving the fruits of their Carmarthenshire property. The grant rehearses that the duchess Constance his step-mother, his wife Mary Bohun and his brothers lay buried in the church.[63] The alabaster table-tomb, now on the north side of the altar of the hospital chapel, with a delicately wrought effigy, the small hands of which are an especially beautiful feature, is sometimes said to be that of Mary de Bohun, who died in 1394. There is no reason, however, for this improbable statement, and the tomb is much more likely to be that of Mary Hervy, whose chantry is mentioned below. Peter Swillyngton's will in 1541 (see p. 200 below) mentions 'the tomb called Mary Darbye tomb where the books lieth'. The 'books' are probably those used at the high altar, and the tomb of Mary Bohun may thus have

60 *Ibid.*, p. 408.

61 *Ibid.*, p. 550.

62 *Ibid.*, 1401-5, p. 210. The executors in both these grants are the earls of Westmorland and Worcester, Thomas Langley, clerk, sir Walter Blount and sir William Par, knights, Robert Whitteby and John Legburn, clerks, William Keteryng and Robert Haytfeld, esquires.

63 *Ibid.*, 1401-5, p. 397. A charter of 13 July, 1407, to much the same effect, is printed by Nichols, op. cit., I., appendix, p. 111.

been on the north side of the chancel of the collegiate church. Mary Bohun died while her husband was still earl of Derby, which accounts for the popular designation of her tomb. But the phrase in the will seems to imply that the identity of the tomb with that of the countess of Derby was merely a tradition and that it bore no distinguishing marks which justified the title. If this was so, such a tradition may well have grown up within the century and a half of the countess' death. It is at least possible that the tomb now in the hospital chapel may be the one referred to, and that the confusion between Mary 'Darbye' and Mary 'Harvye', easily explained in the circumstances, is of early origin. 'Mary Darbe's' obit is also mentioned in the certificate of the college in *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iv, 169-172.

Four pounds of the £40 of land and rent which the dean and canons had licence to acquire in 1392 are mentioned in a licence of 3 December, 1405, by which William of Almanbery, clerk, prebendary of the fourth stall, John Northburgh, clerk, sometime prebendary of the sixth stall, and Thomas of Queneby were permitted to alienate three messuages, five shops, eleven tofts, three acres of land, and rents of 16s. 11d., one capon and three hens in Leicester, its suburbs and Wigston, extended at forty shillings yearly.[64] Queneby and Almanbery appear again with one Thomas Maundevyle on 11 January, 1407-8, when they had a similar licence for two messuages and two tofts in Leicester and suburbs, extended at 33s. yearly, to be held as equivalent to £2 of the £40 licence.[65]

In 1405-6 another chantry was founded in the church by Mary, widow of William Hervy, yeoman to Edward III and Richard II. Hervy had been ulnager of woollen cloths, an office granted him for life in 1362,[66] and is found later as one of the yeoman of the chandlery.[67] He had property at Southrop, in east Gloucestershire, which he acquired before 1367, by which time he had married his wife Mary,[68] one of the ladies of the household of John of Gaunt.[69] Hervy's name occurs frequently upon commissions relating to Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Berkshire. Thus he was appointed joint keeper, with the well-known John Golafre, of Bruerne abbey, when it was in a state of

64 *Cal. Pat.*, 1405-8, p. 109.

65 *Ibid.*, p. 387. The licence is printed by Nichols, ut. sup.

66 *Cal. Pat.*, 1361-4, p. 235..

67 See, *e.g.*, *ibid.*, 1391-6, p. 595 (28 June, 1395).

68 *Ibid.*, 1364-7, p. 351 (10 Jan., 1366-7).

69 See a grant dated 9 June, 1399 (*ibid.*, 1396-9, p. 565).

collapse owing to injudicious grants of corrodies.[70] Mary herself in 1373 had had a grant of some land at Bodfield in Gloucestershire.[71] On 2 February, 1376-7, Edward III granted the manor of Southrop to the Hervys and their heirs male. When Hervy died, however, some time in 1400, there were no sons of the marriage, and Henry IV released the manor to Mary to hold by the accustomed services to the value of £10 yearly.[72] It seems that after her husband's death Mary was taken into the service of the royal family, probably as governess to the princes; for on 9 June, 1408, she had a grant of £40 out of the yearly issues of the counties of Oxford and Buckingham for her good services to the king, his son the prince and his other infants.[73]

By licence of 4 March, 1405-6, she was empowered for the health of her own soul and that of her husband to grant to the dean and canons in mortmain two manors in Southrop called 'Filibertiscourt' and 'Greyescourt',[74] a messuage, a toft, and two and a half virgates of land, held in chief by knight service, in Southrop, and a virgate and a half of land, not held in chief, in Southrop and Eastleach Turville, extended at 20 marks yearly.[75] On 20 May, 1406, in the chapter-house of the college, a tripartite indenture was drawn up between Mary Hervy and the dean and canons, with bishop Repyngdon as third party. By this a chantry of one chaplain, to be appointed by the dean, was founded for the souls of William Hervy and sir Alexander Dalby, clerk, and for the soul of Mary after her death and those of her parents and benefactors. The chaplain was to say mass daily either in the church or the 'poor folks' chapel'. The chantry was to begin with Mary's death. The chaplain appointed by the dean must swear fealty to the dean and be strictly loyal to the interests of the church, and hold no other salaried post with his chantry. He must say his hours diligently and devoutly every day and celebrate mass when not otherwise hindered, with a special collect, secret and post communion. His daily duties also included the recitation of the office of the dead with nine or three lessons according to

70 *Ibid.*, 1364-7, pp. 244, 245 (14 May, 1366).

71 *Ibid.*, 1377-81, p. 102 (confirmation 1 Feb., 1377-8; see also *ibid.*, 1408-13, p. 387).

72 *Ibid.*, 1399-1401, p. 393.

73 *Ibid.*, 1405-8, p. 452.

74 'Greyescourt' is probably the manor granted in 1376-7. 'Filibertiscourt' was acquired before 1367. See *ibid.*, 1364-7, p. 351, where the plot and carucate of land in Southrop, late of John de Seint Philberd, 'chivaler', are named in which William Hervy had acquired a life estate.

75 *Ibid.*, 1405-8, p. 158. See also a document from the Rolls of Parliament, relating to this property, quoted by Nichols, op. cit., I, 333.

the season, the commendation of the dead, the seven penitential psalms and the fifteen psalms of degrees with the litany, to which were added special suffrages for the persons already named. He was also bound to attend matins, mass and vespers on Sundays and all festivals in the church of the college, and to take part in processions when the dean saw fit, wearing a habit like one of the vicars. His stipend was assessed at eight marks, to be paid him by the provost of the college at the usual terms defined in the statutes. The college was also to find him in vestments, chalice, bread, wine, wax, a missal and other necessaries for saying mass, and the dean was to assign him an honest and competent lodging within the close. The remaining issues of the endowment were devoted to the obit of the Hervys and Alexander Dalby, which was to be kept after the manner of the obit of any of the deans of the college. On the obit day the dean received two shillings, each canon twelve pence, each vicar and clerk sixpence, each chorister and verger threepence, and each of the poor folk fivepence 'in honour of the five wounds of Jesus Christ, who suffered and was crucified for us'. The dean and chapter pledged their observance to the bishop in 100s. sterling, but were discharged of their bond in case of their being ousted from the property. This indenture was confirmed by bishop Repyngdon at Lincoln on 23 August.[76]

Maud, widow of Thomas Hervy, and apparently a relative of William and Mary Hervy, was also a benefactress to the bedefolk. In 1409-10 she granted to the Crown, with regrant to herself for life and remainder in frankalmoin to the dean and canons, in augmentation of the maintenance of the poor in the almshouses, five messuages, ten cottages, seven shops and three gardens in the parishes of St. Mary-le-Strand and St. Clement Danes, London. Two messuages called 'le Swan' and 'le Flourdelise', with a garden, four cottages, and four shops, were in the first-named parish, 'le Flourdelise' being on the west side of a lane leading to St. Giles-in-the-Fields. Three messuages, one west of the house of the master of the new Temple, the other two, called 'Seynt Mary Inne' and 'le Angell', adjoining each other, with two gardens, six cottages and three shops, were in St. Clement Danes. Seisin was taken for the Crown by commission of 8 March, and the re-grant was made to Maud Hervy, with remainder as above, on 16 March.[77]

[76] Lincoln Epis. Reg. xv, ff. 18 *d*, 19.

[77] *Cal. Pat.*, 1408-13, pp. 171, 187-8.

Meanwhile, no complete endowment appears to have been made for John of Gaunt's chantry. The executors,[78] however, had acquired the manors of Draycote and Bourton in Warwickshire, near Rugby, sometime of William Bagot, knight, from the feoffees, Nicholas Bradshagh and John Hynkley, and granted them to the Crown for delivery to the college. This final grant was made on 29 May, 1410: the dean and canons bound themselves to pay nine marks yearly to each of the two chaplains of the chantry at the four terms of the year, forfeiting a hundred shillings to the king and his heirs, dukes of Lancaster, for arrears of fifteen days.[79] A second grant of this property was made on 23 July following, by which the stipend of nine marks each was modified to ten marks yearly, shared between the chaplains, at Christmas and Midsummer. The obit of John of Gaunt and Constance and certain works of piety, to be ordained by bishop Langley, Robert Haytfeld and John Legburn, were provided for out of the surplus in this second grant, and the two chaplains were named as Richard Ingrith and John Hill. A special grant in mortmain of the ten marks was made to the chaplains on 22 July, and the dean and canons had licence to grant them five marks in mortmain, when the payment should be six weeks in arrear.[80] The stipend of the chaplains, however, was made up to ten marks each from another source. Bishop Langley, Ralph earl of Westmorland, and John Legburn acquired from the feoffees, Richard Heth, clerk, Brian de la Mare of Colsterworth, John Yongwyn, chaplain, and Thomas Devill of Grimoldby, chaplain, and so demised to the Crown the manor of Creeton, four bovates of land and eight acres of meadow in Creeton, Counthorpe, Little Bytham and Kyseby, a messuage, a bovate of land and three acres of meadow in Creeton, Counthorpe and Bytham, a messuage, six bovates of land and ten acres of meadow in Burton Coggles, fifteen acres of meadow in two parcels, called 'le Northsykes' and 'le Southsykes', in Burton, and the advowson of the church of Creeton, all in Lincolnshire. This property was granted by the Crown to the abbot and convent of Vaudey, who thus became trustees for the payment of ten marks of rent out of it to the chaplains at Michaelmas and Easter, the dean and canons paying their ten marks at the other two quarters. The abbot and

[78] Now reduced to Thomas Langley, bishop of Durham, Ralph, earl of Westmorland, Robert Whitteby and John Legburn, clerks, and Robert Haytfeld, esq.

[79] *Cal. Pat.*, 1408-13, p. 196. Letters of attorney to take seisin of the property for the Crown were issued on 8 May, 1410 (*ibid.*, p. 194).

[80] *Ibid.*, pp. 420, 421.

convent, in case of six weeks' arrears, had licence to grant in mortmain to the chaplains five marks of rent out of their manor of Burton Grange and all their other lands in Burton Lazars. As in the case of the other ten marks, the grant of the rent to Ingrith and Hill was made on 22 July, the grant of the property to Vaudey abbey on the 23d.[81] On 22 July also the dean and canons had licence to grant in mortmain to the two chaplains a messuage in the close, between the dwelling of Thomas Suthwell, canon and prebendary of the fifth stall, on the south, and a gate called 'le Bedehous Yate' on the north, with a garden adjoining.[82] The establishment of the chantry was therefore completed by John of Gaunt's executors after some eleven years.[83]

When Henry V came to the throne, the buildings, at any rate the church, of the college still stood in need of completion. One of the usual writs for the hire of workmen to the number of twenty-four was issued on 8 Nov., 1414, to Thomas Charyte, George Burstall and Robert Kesteven.[84] This seems to be the last writ of the kind, and we may assume that the church was finished soon after this date. To realise its general appearance, it is useful to remember that the period of its building was very nearly contemporary with that of the eastern arm of York minster (1361-1405), and that it probably exhibited something of the same characteristics upon a less grandiose, but sufficiently imposing scale. Henry V gave the foundation a mark of signal favour, by the grant (16 March, 1415-6) with licence to appropriate, of the church of Bradford in Yorkshire, one of the advowsons belonging to the duchy. This grant was specially applied to the maintenance of the obit of the king's mother, Mary, countess of Derby.[85] One of Henry's brothers, Thomas, duke of Clarence, by his will in 1417, provided for the purchase of a church, the fruits of which, amounting to 40 marks, were to be applied to the maintenance of a chantry of two priests: but his

[81] *Ibid.*, pp. 417, 419, 421.

[82] *Ibid.*, p. 419.

[83] No ordination of this chantry remains at Lincoln. The executors had issued ordinances for the chantry in St. Paul's, of which Richard Kelstern and John Alton were the first chaplains, on 5 July, 1403 (*ibid.*, pp. 383-5). The St. Paul's priests had a stipend of 24 marks yearly between them, paid by the dean and chapter of St. Paul's out of property in Middlesex and Essex. The executors, as in the case of the Leicester chantry, demised their acquisitions to the Crown, and the Crown made the grant to the dean and chapter. This was not till 20 Feb., 1411-2 (*ibid.*, p. 372).

[84] *Ibid.*, 1413-6, p. 265.

[85] *Ibid.*, pp. 382-3.

design seems never to have taken effect.[86] Charters granted to the college by Henry IV on 13 July, 1407, and by Henry V on 20 May, 1413, were confirmed early in the reign of Henry VI, on 4 Dec., 1423. At the same time, confirmation was granted to letters patent of Henry IV, delivered under the seal of the duchy of Lancaster on 12 Dec., 1411, which granted to the dean and canons view of frankpledge of all tenants and residents within the precinct of the college. Hitherto the precinct had been situated partly within the view of the castle ward, and partly within that of the borough. The dean and canons were further exempted from the burden of pensions and corrodies constantly imposed upon religious foundations by the Crown or other patrons; and they and their tenants were acquitted of a long catalogue of taxes and customs.[87]

On 6 May, 1424, two licences were granted by the Crown to Thomas Halywell and John Whyte, prebendaries of the third and fourth stalls respectively, and to John Hornyngwold, to grant certain property to the dean and canons for their maintenance, and for that of a chantry of two chaplains, who were to pray for the good estate of the king and his soul after death, and for the souls of John of Gaunt and Constance. Whether this was intended to be a new chantry, or was merely an augmentation of that founded by John of Gaunt's executors, is not very clear; but it looks as if the second alternative were the right one. The dean and canons paid the fines for the licences. The first of these specifies a messuage and two tofts in Leicester and the suburbs, held of the Crown as of the honour of Leicester, and two messuages, three tofts, 80 acres of land, 3s. 2d. and one pound of pepper in rent, the homage and service of Robert Peche and Robert Smyth, a pasture for 28 beasts, and view of frankpledge in Littlethorpe by Narborough, held of the Crown as of the earldom of Chester.[88] The second licence was granted specifically in partial fulfilment, to the extent of forty shillings a year, of the £40 licence obtained in 1392, and involved the reversion of two tofts, 39 acres and half a rood of land, one acre of meadow, and five acres and three roods of pasture in Ullesthorpe, not held of the king. The clear yearly value of this property was assessed at 13s. 8d., and the dean and canons were to enter upon it after

[86] See Nichols, op. cit., I, 331.

[87] *Ibid.*, 1422-9, p. 162. See also an exemption (11 Jan., 1422-3) from aids, etc., printed by Nichols, op. cit., I, appendix. p. 111.

[88] *Cal. Pat.*, 1422-9, p. 200.

the death of the life tenants, Margaret, late the wife of Robert Ster, and Thomas Ster.[89]

We have seen that John of Gaunt had made a grant of 100 marks a year out of the honour of Tutbury in 1374 to the fabric fund of the college, and that later we read of 100 marks, apparently the same sum, as coming out of the honour of Leicester. In 1439 this yearly sum was still secured to the fabric fund in two moieties, fifty marks being charged upon the revenues of the duchy. The other fifty had been granted in frankalmoin by cardinal Beaufort, archbishop Chichele, the late cardinal Langley, and Walter, lord Hungerford, out of duchy lands of which they had been enfeoffed by Henry V. On 27 May, 1439, the members of the foundation petitioned the Crown to allow the three surviving feoffees, on surrender by the college of the letters patent under which they held these moieties, to grant them in frankalmoin, for the general purposes of the college, 100 marks a year out of the manors, lordships, wapentakes, and socages of Wirksworth and Ashbourne, with the hamlets of Ireton, Matlock, Underwood, Bradlow, Bentley, Thorpe, Mappleton, Eaton, Hanson, Alsop, Parwich, Hognaston, Callow, Carsington, Cromford, Snitterton, Wensley, Hopton, Middleton, and Upper Bonsall, all in Derbyshire. The plea for this transference of revenue from the fabric fund was the inability of the college to meet expenses out of its existing possessions.[90] Beaufort, Chichele, and Hungerford made the new grant by their letters patent of 14 April, 1440, which was confirmed by the Crown on 17 November following.[91]

The history of the endowments of the college practically ceases at the point at which, for the first time since the delivery of the statutes by the founder, we come into touch with its internal history; for the first of the visitations of the dean, canons, and other members, of which the records have been preserved, began on 1 December, 1440.

At this point, however, to revert to an earlier period, something may be said of the relations existing between the Newarke college and the far older, but smaller and poorer foundation which had its home in the church of St. Mary by the castle. This college,

89 *Ibid.*, pp. 203, 204.

90 *Ibid.*, 1436-41, p. 307. Nichols, op. cit., I, 331, gives this list, but with some misreadings, *e.g.*, 'Alforde' for 'Alsop'. The names, as given above, are in their modern form,

91 *Cal. Pat.*, 1436-41, p. 487.

consisting of a dean and seven canons, whose prebendal stalls were distinguished by the letters of the alphabet from A to H, traced its origin to the first Norman earl of Leicester. While the college held its services in the parish church of St. Mary, of which one of the canons was vicar, the church itself was appropriated to the canons regular at Leicester abbey. The prebends were of small value, and at the eventual suppression of the college were mere pittances. When the earl of Lancaster first founded his hospital in the Newarke, a contention arose between the warden and chaplains of the new foundation and the sacrist and canons of St. Mary's. The hospital contended that, by authority of the holy see, the warden could administer all sacraments within its precincts, the offerings of pilgrims could be devoted entirely to its own uses, and the bodies of chaplains, serving-folk, and others dying in the precincts could be buried in the chapel yard—in fact, that the hospital was a peculiar exempt from the jurisdiction of St. Mary's, in the parish of which it stood. The sacrist and canons naturally objected to renouncing their rights to the prejudice of the parish church. The concord arranged between them and the warden and chaplains was indentured and sealed on 12 Oct., 1334, with consent of the abbot and convent of Leicester, and was confirmed by bishop Burghersh on 16 Jan., 1334-5. The sacrist and canons by this agreement abandoned all claim to their rights in consideration of a yearly pension of a mark from the hospital, to be paid in two instalments on All Souls' day and Easter Monday. If the warden and chaplains failed to pay, coercion might be exercised, without right of appeal, by any secular or ecclesiastical judge.

When the college was founded, a new difficulty arose, owing to the large extension of the former area of the hospital. A new agreement was sealed by the members of both colleges and by the abbot and convent, on 16 Jan., 1358-9, and confirmed by bishop Gynewell at Liddington thirteen days later. By this the right of administering the sacraments within the limits of the close was conceded to the Newarke college, suitable chaplains being deputed for this purpose by the dean and his lieutenants. The limits of the new close were then defined. In breadth it extended 703 feet from the corner or upper angle of St. Mary's churchyard to the wall of the garden sometime of Agnes Gounfrey, and 700 feet from the corner of the wall leading to the new mill to the garden of the castle or its new wall. In length it was 640 feet from the garden of William Malteby to the water of Soar,

123 feet following the little alley (*venella*) by the house sometime of Agnes Gounfrey to the wall of the hospital, and 262 feet from the gate of the said hospital towards the High street. The boundaries of the close are further defined in another form, as containing 44 perches in length from the bank of Soar to the tenement of sir John Coventre, chaplain, following the new wall of the castle towards the town of Leicester, and 41 perches in breadth from the gate of the new wall of the castle to the alley called Mill lane (*le Milnelane*). From the wall of the old hospital by the corner of Mill lane to the king's highway leading to the south gate of Leicester, between the tenements sometime of Agnes Gounfrey and of John de Knyghcote, mercer, they contained 8 perches and 5 feet in length, and from this point extended for 5 perches in breadth to the corner of St. Mary's churchyard wall, where it butted on the wall of the tenement of Richard Wardroper (*de la Warderop'*).

Within this area all oblations and the right of burial with all mortuaries and principals were reserved to the dean and canons of the Newarke, except in the case of boarders or members of the household of any persons dwelling or staying in the close. These, if they had an inhabited house or made their home in St. Mary's parish outside the close, were to be attended to by the sacrist and canons of St. Mary's, like any other parishioners. The chapter of St. Mary's also was to have all oblations and parochial dues from the rural serving-folk of the dean and canons—carters, ploughmen, shepherds, thrashers, and swineherds. Tithe was arranged as follows. The dean and canons took all tithes of curtilages from the land acquired in augmentation of the old site. The sacrist and canons of St. Mary's took the little tithes of apples, pears, lambs, calves, wool, geese, doves and eggs from the whole college, which were commuted into a yearly payment of 51s., 7½d. to be paid by the dean and canons in three equal instalments during the octaves of Michaelmas, Candlemas, and Pentecost. This new payment superseded the old pension of a mark. If the dean and canons failed to pay, however, they were to forfeit a mark in addition to the total sum paid in lieu of tithe.[92]

Two documents, one of 1428, the other of 1433, preserved among the borough records of Leicester, may also be noticed here. On 16 June, 1428, an indenture was made between the dean and canons of the Newarke and John Swalwell, clerk, prebendary of the eighth stall, on the one part, and Richard Danett of Bruntingthorpe, Roger Hycche of Leicester, baker, John Thurkeston, and John Mylner of Lutterworth, on the other. Richard Danett claimed a right of way for himself, his tenants, and others, through the town of Leicester to the king's highway called Rodyk or Rowdyke, and thence over Mary meadow (*Mawre medowe*), which belonged to the dean and canons, to his mill called Mary mill (*Mawremylne*), with the right to load and carry grain to and fro. He also claimed a separate fishery in the Soar between Feldyngforthe and Blakepole. On their side, the dean and canons claimed a right of way for carrying their crops from their field called Mawreholme, and formerly Gounfreyholme, over Richard's meadow, and thence over the water known as Old Soar. They further claimed their right and title to a piece of meadow east of the mill: this was also claimed by Danett, who had dispossessed them of it. An award was given by sir William Babington, chief justice of the common bench, shortly after Easter, 1428, on which the agreement was founded. Danett and his heirs might have a right of way from Feldyngwaye over Mary meadow to the bank of the Soar, and thence over the dean and canons' meadow to the mill. This path was to be only a rod and a half in width, nor was Danett allowed to plant willows or other trees, to dig save for repair of the path, or to make any other way over the meadow. The dean and canons, on their side, might erect a permanent bridge of stone or timber over the Soar, where it ran between Mary meadow and Maryholme, across which they might carry crops and timber, or drive their cattle to pasture in Maryholme. In this case the bridge must be so constructed as to leave room for a little fishing-boat to pass beneath, to be drawn with lines or pushed by hand, no man sitting or standing in it. Or they might make a temporary bridge of logs, overlaid with branches of trees and the hurdles called 'flekes', twice a year, for fifteen days in summer and fifteen days in winter, during which time Danett was debarred from passing under it in a boat. But, in this case, he was given the right to remove it three days after the dean and canons had used it to carry their hay. The disputed piece of meadow near the mill was divided between the contending parties, half of it being recognised as parcel of the foundation endowment of the college. This moiety might be imparked by the dean and canons according to metes and bounds to be set before Michaelmas following the award. If the dean and canons could produce no title-deeds within a year of the award, Danett was to keep the fishery, which included the part of the river

92 Lincoln Epis. Reg. ix, ff. 121 *d*-123.

between the two meadows already referred to. Under this definitive sentence, the dean and canons were to grant to Danett under their common seal his right of way over Mary meadow, reserving to themselves the right to stop it up, in case of a hindrance of their own right of way by him, while he was to grant under seal to the dean and canons the right of constructing the bridge, reserving his right to withdraw in case of the hindrance of his right of way by them.[93]

A further award was given on 24 April, 1433, by sir William Babington, William Ferrers, lord of Groby, sir Richard Hastynges, sir William Trussell, and William Babthorpe, baron of the exchequer, between the mayor, burgesses, and commonalty of Leicester on the one hand, and the dean and canons on the other. In this case the corporation, disregarding the protest of the chapter, had made ditches and planted willows and other trees in and about 'le Cowhey', a pasture in the south field of Leicester, and upon the bank of the old dyke of the Cowhay, otherwise known as 'le Dreyner'. They also claimed common of pasture in the great meadow called Closemeadow, and in a close called Josselynecroft, from time immemorial, in which they paid threepence for every beast pastured to the dean and canons. The chapter claimed the same pasture as parcel of the four carucates which belonged to them in the common field, and claimed the payment of threepence per beast as their lawful due.

It was agreed that the corporation should have Cowhay, paying the chapter their recognised due as above. The chapter, however, might have right of entry on any day in the year, with the power of driving any beast to their granges in the south suburb of Leicester, and impounding it there till the threepence was forthcoming. Due notice must be given meanwhile to the mayor and burgesses. As regards the ditching and planting, the corporation were allowed to make a ditch on the north side of Cowhay, where it adjoined the property of the college, following the bounds and stones placed there of old. They might plant a single row of willows upon their own ground on the sides of the pasture next the Soar and the 'dreyner'. The willows which had lately been planted in two rows on the line of the ditch which separated the south side of Cowhay from Oxhay, otherwise called Mary meadow, were suffered to stand and grow at the will of the mayor and burgesses. But, since the earthen bank of this ditch

[93] *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, ed. Bateson, Stevenson & Stocks, II, 234-44.

was high, and the willows were planted thick and close together, the water and its wreck in flood-time lay upon Mary meadow without means of exit, to the damage of the chapter. The corporation was therefore to cut down the willows and make outlets through the bank, either in four places, each 16 feet wide, or in eight places, each of the width of eight or ten feet. The openings in the bank might be barred with timber, to be maintained at the expense of the corporation, so as to prevent their cattle from straying. The causey which had been made to Cowhay from the road between Leicester and Aylestone, with a ditch and two rows of willows on either side, was to remain as it was; but the corporation might move the wooden bars and gate, through which it was entered from the road, some thirty feet nearer the pasture, so as to leave more room for the highway. Outside these bars all the willows were to be cut down and no trees to be replanted, and the ditches at this end were to be filled up. The gate was to be left open throughout the year until the dean and canons had made their annual vindication of their right of entry. The corporation must fill up all ditches and cut down all willows lately made and planted along the side of the pasture next the king's highway, from Mary meadow to the town of Leicester, and must leave this side open and unenclosed, as it was before the recent ditching took place. Finally, the great meadow within the waters of the Soar, called Closemeadow, and the croft known as Josselynecroft, were to be several and enclosed for ever and to remain in the possession of the chapter.[94]

Such documents as these illustrate the relation of the college to the other bodies and individuals with whom its daily business brought it into contact. We may now turn from their somewhat prolix details to documents of a more intimate and interesting type.

[94] *Ibid.*, II, 246-53.

V

BISHOP ALNWICK'S VISITATION AND INJUNCTIONS, 1440

Apart from the slight information conveyed by documents which relate in the main to the property of the college, little or nothing is known of its internal history during the first eighty or ninety years of its existence. Its deans were men of no great distinction, and among its canons were numbered none of the royal clerks who amassed large preferments in the exercise of their calling. Although successive bishops of Lincoln or their commissaries must have visited the college during this period, in the course of discharging their ordinary duties, no record of any such visitation has been preserved before that of 1440. Archbishop Courtenay made his visitation as metropolitan on 29 and 30 October, 1389.[1] It was during his stay at Leicester that the archbishop examined the local Lollards who had been accused of holding various heresies derived from Wycliffe's later teaching.[2] The eight accused men, who belonged chiefly to the trading class, were excommunicated; but three, among them a priest, eventually abjured their heresies. William Smyth, Roger Dexter, and a woman, Alice Dexter, submitted themselves to Courtenay at Dorchester-on-Thames on 17 November, and were sent back to Leicester to do penance. Thomas Brightwell, dean of the Newarke college, and William Chiselden, prebendary of the fourth stall and afterwards dean, were among the commissaries appointed to see that the penance was performed. After the usual manner, it was to be done publicly, three Sundays in succession. On the first Sunday, William and Roger, in their shirts and breeches, and Alice in her shift only, all with bare feet and heads, were to walk in the procession before high mass in the collegiate church, William carrying an image of St. Katherine, and Roger and Alice each a crucifix, in their right hands, while all bore tapers of half-a-pound weight. Three times during the procession, at its beginning, middle, and end, they were to kiss the images, to the honour of the Crucified and in memory of His passion, and in honour of St. Katherine, bending the knee devoutly. After the procession, they were to stand during the

[1] Lambeth Reg. Courtenay, I, ff. 138, 138 *d*.

[2] *Ibid*., ff. 139, 139 *d*.

whole of the mass before the great rood, holding their images and tapers, and at the end they were to offer their tapers to the celebrant. Their penance on the following Sunday was to be done in the market-place, and on the Sunday after in their parish church. A special provision allowed them more clothing on account of the cold weather, but they were required to wear nothing on their feet.[3]

There is no definite mention of the college in archbishop Arundel's register, in connexion with his businesslike visitation of the diocese of Lincoln; but he was at Leicester at any rate from 10 to 12 July, 1411.[4] Chichele's visitation brought him to Leicester on 31 July and 1 August, 1424;[5] and two years later, while parliament was sitting at Leicester in 1426, he consecrated William Gray bishop of London in the collegiate church in the Newarke.[6] Gray eventually came into closer connexion with Leicester, upon his translation to the see of Lincoln in 1430; but his register, otherwise of great value to students of the history of the religious foundations of the diocese, contains no record of his Leicestershire visitations. With the records of his successor's episcopate the case is different. The first historical document which enables us to see something of the inner life of the foundation is the record of bishop Alnwick's visitation on 1 Dec., 1440.[7] The picture which it gives of the state of the college is not very pleasant, and, when compared with those derived from other visitations of the same series, suggests that, if slackness was a common feature in the life of monasteries at this period, the life of secular colleges was even more careless.[8]

The dean in 1440 was William Walesby, a Lincolnshire man, apparently a native of Tetney, near Louth, who owed his promotions to the queen-dowager Katherine, as treasurer of her household. The deanery seems to have been one of his earliest preferments. His predecessor, Richard Elvet, died in 1431, and on 7 Dec. Walesby was instituted to the seventh prebend. This qualified him for election to the deanery, to which he was accordingly presented by queen Katherine, then patroness, and instituted on 18 December. His tenure of the deanery lasted till 1450, when

[3] *Ibid*., ff. 144, 144 *d*.

[4] Lambeth Reg. Arundel, I, f. 85 *d*.

[5] Lambeth Reg. Chichele, I, f. 243.

[6] Stubbs. *Reg. Sac. Ang.*

[7] Printed in *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln* (Lincoln Record and Cant. and York Soc.) II.

[8] This is borne out by the visitations of Fotheringhay and Irthlingborough colleges in the same series. These shew less evidence of vice, but bear witness to the abandonment of the ideals with regard to which the college had been founded.

he resigned it, apparently as part of a general exchange of benefices with Richard Andrew, shortly afterwards dean of York.[9] He held several other preferments with it. On 8 Nov., 1436, he had a grant from the Crown of the deanery of Hastings, which he resigned by 13 May, 1437.[10] He also resigned by 29 Nov., 1437, the prebend of Moreton Parva in Hereford, of which he had received collation on 9 August, 1431.[11] This was an exchange with John Langton, afterwards bishop of St. David's, for the church of Langton, Leicestershire, to which he was instituted on 26 Nov., 1437.[12] In 1439 he obtained Leighton Buzzard prebend in Lincoln, which he held for some three or four years,[13] and in 1440 the archdeaconry of Chichester, which he retained till 1454.[14] At the time of this visitation, he was negotiating a re-exchange of Langton and Moreton minor prebend in Hereford with John Langton. The date of this exchange is given in Alnwick's register as 9 Nov., 1440,[15] but as regards the Hereford prebend, which Walesby resigned immediately on re-admission, it did not become operative till much later.[16] On 1 December he was certainly in possession of a church, for the letters of plurality which he exhibited included a church with his deaneries and prebends. It seems likely, however, that his resignation of Langton was made to permit of his acceptation of the archdeaconry of Chichester, with which the church was incompatible. On 12 Feb., 1444-5 he had collation of the prebend of Fordington with Writhlington in Salisbury.[17] He was dean of St. Stephen's, Westminster, in 1445,[18] and on 13 July in that year was instituted to Colsterworth, Lincolnshire, on the presentation of John Langton, then patron of the church by virtue of his prebend of South Grantham in Salisbury.[19] He subsequently held the church of Great Crawley, Bucks., which he resigned by 22 July, 1449,[20] possibly for that of Holy Trinity, Chelsea, which he resigned in 1450.[21] On 31 May, 1449, he received collation of Leighton

9 See list of deans and canons. 10 *Cal. Pat.*, 1436-41, pp. 22, 56.
11 Hereford Epis Reg. Spofford, I, ff. 187, 219.
12 Lincoln Epis. Reg. xviii, f. 163 *d*. 13 Le Neve, *Fasti*, II, 172.
14 *Ibid.*, I, 260.
15 Lincoln Epis. Reg. xviii, ff. 152 and *d*.
16 Hereford Epis. Reg. Spofford, i, f. 239.
17 Jones, *Fasti Eccl. Sar.*, p. 382.
18 *Cal. Pat.*, 1441-6, p. 361 : see Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.*, p. 451.
19 Lincoln Epis. Reg. xviii, f. 95 *d*. By a curious error the names of patron and presentee change places.
20 *Ibid.*, f. 195. 21 Hennessy, ut sup., p. 120.

ecclesia prebend in Lincoln.[22] In September, 1450, he exchanged a canonry and prebend in Windsor with Richard Andrew for the church of Hayes, Middlesex,[23] and on 20 December in the same year, Andrew succeeded him as dean of the Newarke college.[24] He appears to have resigned his archdeaconry in 1454, but to have retained his church of Hayes, to which he was instituted on 16 Sept., 1450[25] and his prebends in Lincoln and Salisbury until his death.[26]

Bishop Alnwick set up his tribunal of visitation in the chapter-house of the college, the recognised place for such enquiries. Here master John Beverley, one of the bishop's clerks, preached a sermon, the text of which is not recorded, and after the usual formalities had been gone through, the dean and canons were examined severally. This preparatory inquisition occupied the first day of the visitation, the business arising out of it being reserved for the second day.

Walesby himself had much to say with regard to the behaviour of the canons; but, as he was probably an absentee for most of his time, and left the affairs of the college in the hands of a lieutenant, he was not himself the subject of complaint. It was objected by one canon, Thomas Redeman, that one man had the monopoly of the office of lieutenant, and that it would be very desirable to make a change. He suggested Thomas Halywell, prebendary of the third stall and rector of Sileby, as the man for the post. The lieutenant, Roger Fysshewyke, prebendary of the thirteenth stall, was also provost. The dean complained that Fysshewyke, as provost, did not perform his statutory duty of rendering an account twice a year, and added the supererogatory information that, when he left the college on business, he did not announce his departure to the dean or his lieutenant; 'which', as Alnwick's notary remarked, 'he cannot do, seeing that he himself is the lieutenant of the dean when absent'. Ralph Welles, prebendary of the fourth stall, brought against the provost the indefinite charge that he would not busy himself about advantages gained by the college since the delivery of the statutes, on the plea that the statutes did not bind him to such labour. The dean's vicar, Richard Spurnere, complained of the way in which certain

22 Lincoln Epis. Reg. xviii, f. 139 *d*. 23 *Cal. Pat.*, 1446-52, p. 401.
24 See list of deans, canons, etc. 25 Hennessy, ut sup., p. 209.
26 He is said to have presented to the vicarage of the prebendal church of Writhlington as late as June, 1457 (Weaver, *Somerset Incumbents*, p. 224). His will, which directed his burial in the cloister of St. Stephen's, was proved 22 Nov., 1458 (P.C.C. 14 Stokton).

rents in Leicester, which had been given for the maintenance of obits, were not accounted for. Fysshewyke's brother-in-law was the collector, and no one dared to say a word to him about them. A temporary arrangement had been made by which these rents were to be devoted for three years, not yet elapsed, to the repair of the tenements which produced them.

In spite, however, of some grumbling against Fysshewyke's handling of the business affairs of the college, there seems to have been no organised party against him among the canons and vicars. William Bedale, prebendary of the second stall, mentioned that John Whyte, formerly provost, had drawn upon a fund of £40 and another of 50 marks, severally bequeathed by John Swalwell and John Charyte, late canons, for the special purpose of affording some relief to the provosts' disbursements. Such money, if borrowed, should have been paid back before the end of the year. John Whyte, however, had died during the year in question, and the money still remained unpaid. The stipends payable to the vicars who served Simon Symeon's triple chantry were six months in arrear; and the vicars said that, out of the £20 to which these stipends amounted altogether, the canons took £7 for themselves. Although in this and other matters some financial torpor was evident, there is no sign that the college was in any serious difficulty about money, or that there was any of that recrimination which, in the religious bodies of the middle ages, was one inevitable result of a lapse into poverty or debt.

The management of the bede-house was a question which called forth some complaint. By statute the infirm poor folk, on recovering their health, were obliged to leave the hospital. Spurnere said that there were some folk in the almshouse who were well able to earn a living with their hands, and, though they had been in ill-health when received, were not expelled now that they were whole. They worked for hire with the canons and others in the town, so that they were putting money in their pockets and growing wealthy. The bedemen and bedewomen, moreover, had their own complaints against the canons, which they had previously expressed in a petition to the king. The king had entrusted the bishop with the correction of these matters, and it seems that on a previous occasion Alnwick had directed the canons to make amends. His intervention had brought about no alteration, and the bedefolk now approached him with a petition in English setting forth their grievances. These were four in number. (1) The canons had ceased to pay the weekly sum of

10½d., ordained to be paid in time of dearth, to each of the bedefolk. While they had petitioned Henry IV for some means of relief whereby to make these payments, and had obtained from him licence to appropriate the church of Preston,[27] which was worth 80 marks a year, they had ceased after his death, 27 years ago, to pay the sum ordained. Meanwhile, they had received 2000 marks and more from the church. The bedefolk had made suit for more than 120 marks, as their due since the price of wheat had last risen to 10d. a quarter, at which it had continued since the Whitsuntide of 1438. They could obtain nothing; but the dean had come to the bedehouse last Christmas, and taking compassion upon 'the povertee and the myschiefe that the saide bedefolk were yn', ordered the canons to give them a Christmas present of ten marks. (2) The canons had kept back for more than seventeen years the rents arising from the property in London given to the bedefolk by Maud, widow of Thomas Hervy, in 1409-10.[28] They also held the deeds relating to this gift, and had disobeyed the bishop's injunction to look them up and give the poor folk their right. Here again the dean had shewn his kindness of heart, adding his own exhortation to the bishop's, and declaring 'that he wolde not for £20 hafe one peny thereof to his owne use'. (3) The bedefolk had enclosed a piece of ground which the founder had given them for a garden, and which was worth eight shillings a year to them; but Thomas Hylle, late prebendary of the seventh stall, and other canons, had on their own responsibility broken down the fence and made at the king's expense a stable for the common carthorses, although a proper stable had been ordained for this purpose in the grange of the college by the founder. (4) Watkin, servant to John Bramburghe, prebendary of the sixth stall, had cut down and carried off the willows which the bedefolk had planted for the enclosure of part of their garden.

The possibility of such disputes was inherent in the double nature of the foundation. While their record brings out forcibly the selfish high-handedness of the canons, it sets the dean himself in an amiable light. The canons were certainly an unsatisfactory body of men. There is not much to be learned about them, and

27 Wrongly called Preston in Holderness in the petition. 'Holderness' is an error for 'Amounderness'. The college had nothing to do with the church of Preston-in-Holderness, which was appropriated to the sub-deanery of York Minster.

28 The petition mentions Thomas Hervy only, but the grant did not take place till after his death.

even the date of institution of several has been left unrecorded, owing to the slovenly way in which Alnwick's register was kept. Some, like John Dey and Thomas Halywell, the senior canon in point of standing, held parish churches: Dey was rector of Wigston, Halywell of Sileby, Bramburgh of Cossington, Robert Matfen of North Luffenham and later of Elmesthorpe. Most of them seem to have lived in their houses in the Newarke and to have left their churches to the ministrations of stipendary curates. They did not rise for matins in the collegiate church. While the statutes prescribed the presence of four canons at least, most of them preferred to stay in bed with the reflection, 'I know how much I shall lose: I had rather lose it than get up'. Sometimes only one canon was at the service. Moreover, those who were absent from choir did not receive their statutory punishment, nor was a fine levied from them, so that they did not hesitate to absent themselves. If such fines were paid, said Halywell, they were paid at reduced rates, a statutory fourpence being commuted to twopence. Spurnere said that canons who owed twenty pence for absence from choir paid barely twopence, and thus were the more ready to keep away from church.

Behaviour in church was not all it should have been. The canons and vicars, while celebrating or serving at the high or other altars, clanked about in wooden shoes. They walked about in the nave during service, a habit which, as the records of York, Southwell, Lincoln and other great churches show, was by no means peculiar to this college. Richard Kempsale, one of the vicars and subsequently Halywell's successor in the third stall, was said not to attend service but to exercise traffic in corn and malt. When he did come, however, he sang too quickly, and William Chell, prebendary of the ninth stall, said that three of the vicars, Kempsale, Derby and Dalby, were constantly chattering and laughing in quire to the grievous hindrance of divine service. If Kempsale sang too fast, one of the canons, Bramburgh, sang too loud. His voice was *tam alta et aperta* that he hindered all about him and was a nuisance to singers. He confessed to this idiosyncracy and was condemned by the bishop, for every repetition of the offence, to pay fourpence to the fabric of the church and sixpence to the bedefolk. The talkative vicars were recommended to the attention of the precentor, under pain of a fine of fourpence to the common of the vicars for each offence.

In the close the use of *togae talares* or cassocks was almost discontinued. The porter's wife sold ale in the gatehouse, and

there of an evening, canons, vicars and chaplains were wont to assemble, sitting there until eight, nine, or ten o'clock. The censorious Spurnere, whose *detecta* doubtless helped him to gain the prebend to which he shortly afterwards acceded, justly observed that, if this custom were kept up, it would breed grave scandal to the college. The porter himself, who received little encouragement to piety from his wife's customers, had taken to buying and selling fish. On Wednesdays and Fridays he pursued his trade instead of carrying his verge at the head of the processions in church, as by statute he was bound to do.

The gravest of the *detecta* presented to Alnwick, according to our modern standard, concerned the moral delinquencies of canons and vicars. No less than four canons were definitely accused of acts of incontinence and promiscuous living, while a fifth was also spoken of in language which suggests a similar suspicion. John Atkynson, rector of Narborough, who seems to have served a chantry in the college and boarded with John Gaddesby, prebendary of the tenth stall, was also accused of having taken suspect women to his lodging, and of intimacy especially with one Joan Norys. Kempsale, the vicar, was on similar terms with the sister of John Broghton, who lived at the close gates. The peccant canons, Bramburgh, Matfen, Shiryngham, and Wells, either acquitted themselves with the help of compurgators or on the ground that they had previously made their purgation before the dean. Kempsale said that he had made his as much as seven years before. Accusations of this type are not uncommon in the visitations of this period, and it may fairly be argued that the sin, notorious though it was, was yet regarded with some degree of tolerance, perplexing to the stricter ideals of the present day. But John Dey was found guilty, after a long and careful examination, of an offence as horrifying then as now, described by Alnwick as *dampnabile et detestabile vicium, cuius solo verbo aer corrumpitur*. On 2 December, Dey was confronted with the witnesses for the prosecution in the chapter-house. He was recalled between three and four in the afternoon to hear the *comperta* published, and was asked if he had anything to say against his conviction. He remained silent and was thereupon pronounced convicted in the presence of the dean, four of the canons and the bishop's assessor and notary. Between six and seven the next morning the bishop concluded his visitation, reserving to himself, according to the usual form, the power of sending injunctions to the college, and reserving further action

also in the case of John Dey. Dey was then called in and solemnly deprived of his canonry and prebend, and ordered to appear at Liddington on Saturday after the Epiphany, to receive further punishment. It seems that Spurnere received collation of Dey's canonry, while we know that Dey resigned his church of Wigston by 5 May, 1441, but apparently was not deprived of it.[29] The whole college was at one upon the subject of his evil character. His house in the close was in bad repair; the rectory at Wigston was almost fallen to the ground. He was said to consume all his goods in debauchery, to be a common wanderer about the town and a haunter of taverns.

The injunctions consequent upon this visitation remain in rough copy, and evidently were composed with extreme care and with a sedulous adjustment to facts of the time-honoured phraseology upon which such documents were founded. Alnwick's preamble was by no means harsh: it declared that the purpose of the injunctions was to remedy certain breaches of the statutes which had been discovered to the visitor, but it made no sweeping statements as to the condition of the college. In many of the injunctions, however, was included a statement of the *compertum* on which each was based. This enables us to gain a more precise idea of the faults which required reformation than can be obtained from the *detecta* furnished by individual members of the college. It should be remembered, further, that injunctions, unless they were hurriedly or unskilfully composed, were so worded as to be of general application. Special cases could be summarily treated by the visitor, but injunctions founded on them were intended to serve as statutes for the future moulded upon the requirements disclosed by the visitation. The series in question may be summarised as follows:—

1. General non-attendance at matins was to be remedied. All the canons in the college, not lawfully hindered, must rise and come to this service, and the statutory minimum of four canons must always be present.

2. The divine office must be recited seriously with due devotion. The proper pauses in the Psalms must be observed: no one must go too fast or slur his notes, and one verse must not be begun before the last is finished. All in choir must say their parts in the office so softly as not to put the rest out. A fine of fourpence to the fabric and sixpence to the bedefolk was imposed upon those who broke this last part of the injunction.

[29] Linc. Epis. Reg. xviii, f. 154 *d*.

It is obvious that the *detecta* relating to Bramburgh's loud singing and to the irreverence of the vicars formed the basis of the *compertum* upon which this injunction was founded.

3. The dean, lieutenant, sacrist and the other ministers of the church must take due note of all defects in choir, such as those already mentioned, and of the absence of members of the college from church. They must report offenders at the next chapter meeting, and must take care to exact fines, without leniency to defaulters.

4. No one must stroll about the church or go elsewhere or talk with secular folk during service times, whether in his choir habit or in laymen's clothes, unless his office made it necessary, or unless he were undergoing his regular blood-letting.

5. Shoes with wooden or iron soles must not be worn in choir or at the altars, as the noise made by such shoes hindered the singing.

6. According to statute, all priests residing in the church or within the college must wear tunics and supertunics reaching to their heels, and black boots.

7. Women must not be admitted within the canons' lodgings at night; and all scandal must be avoided by forbidding them frequent access to the lodgings, whether by night or day.

8. Since the offices of provost and dean's lieutenant were incompatible, the dean and his successors, under pain of contempt, must not appoint the provost lieutenant or *vice versa*.

9. The provost, when leaving the college on business, must, under the same penalty, give notice of the reason and duration of his absence to the dean, or in his absence to the sacrist.

10. The provost, according to statute, must render an account of his administration twice a year, during the fortnights after Easter and Michaelmas, before the dean or his lieutenant and three other canons elected by the chapter.

11. No persons must be admitted as boarders and messmates to the college, unless they were grave persons of good conversation and honest report. The access of women to such persons was strictly forbidden, the case of the rector of Narborough being obviously that on which this injunction was grounded.

12. Since it was discovered that several of the canons, to the bishop's grief, celebrated mass barely once a week, the canons must dispose themselves to celebrate, and, being so disposed, must celebrate more often, 'inasmuch as ye ought to pray and make oblations for them whose alms ye receive daily, and there

is no sacrifice can be greater than the Body and Blood of Christ, nor can any offering be of more avail than this, seeing that it is the most excellent of all'.

13. The vicars must abstain from talking, laughter and noise during divine service, and keep silent. If they must speak, they should say what they had to quickly, in a low voice, and in Latin, remembering that they were standing in His presence of whom it is said, *In pace factus est locus eius*. Offenders, besides incurring the penalties of disobedience and contempt, were fined fourpence for each default, to be paid on the following Saturday.

14. Poor folk who had recovered their health must not be suffered to remain in the bedehouse, but must be excluded from their regular maintenance and from the house itself. Others must be substituted in their place without delay.

15. As certain canons had left their lodgings in a state of disrepair and almost of ruin, the dean must carefully and faithfully execute the statute which provided for the necessary upkeep of canons' houses.

16. The porter must be compelled to perform his statutory duty, which the porter at this time had abandoned, of carrying the white verge before the dean and canons at their entry to and exit from high mass, etc., and during service and while the altars were censed.

17. While canon law and the statutes of the college forbade all clerks to enter public taverns to eat and drink, unless on a journey or of necessity, some canons, vicars and other ministers of the church did not fear to haunt public houses, forbidden assemblies and unlawful spectacles by night and day. The dean must fulfil the statute against such practices with the utmost severity and proceed to the excommunication of offenders, absolution from which sentence, save in the article of death, the bishop reserved to himself.

18. No public house, nor the sale of beer, wine, or other victuals must be allowed within the site or gates of the close.

19. Since some of the vicars were so intent upon buying and selling that they neglected divine service, the vicars were enjoined under pain of the greater excommunication to leave these cares of the world and confine themselves to the duties which they had vowed to perform.

20. The statutes expressly provided that the goods left in general by canons and vicars at their decease should be divided equally among the survivors by the dean, excluding those which

the deceased had designed for any special purpose connected with the church. Such special sums, the bequests of Swalwell and Charyte already mentioned, had been wasted by the dean and canons. These funds must be restored and appropriated to their proper use within the next two years, under pain of the greater excommunication, incurred *ipso facto* by disturbers of the last wills of the dead.

21. Similarly, the rents in Leicester appropriated to certain obits in the college, must be paid to their proper destination within three years after the tenements out of which they came had been set in order and repaired.

22. It was the statutory duty of the sacrist to look after, rule and govern the choristers; but of late the choristers, roaming about as it were without a leader, spent their time in gadding abroad and in other unruly deeds, making no progress in virtues. The sacrist, under pain of excommunication, must see that, when they were not in church, the choristers were giving themselves to learning and instruction, 'that so living under the rod, they may be able to advance from virtue to virtue'.

23. Simon Symeon's chantry for three chaplains had been ordained to be served by the vicars for a stipend of £13 annually: but the provost, at Lady Day and Michaelmas, 1440, had kept back all payment but four shillings to each vicar. The provost, remembering that the mouth of the ox that treads out the corn should not be muzzled, must make full payment of such salaries at the statutory terms without delay.

24. The provost was bound by statute to swear, when he was admitted, that he would serve faithfully and do diligent administration in the office committed to him, paying anxious attention to the goods, temporal and spiritual, of the church, the oblations only excepted. The present provost, however, had said that he was not bound to administer the goods given to the church, which were not great, since the publication of the statutes, and had neglected his ministry in this respect. The bishop, construing the statute as of general application to all the goods of the church, ordered him and his successors, under the pain of perjury incurred by the transgression of the statutes, and under pain of the greater excommunication, to apply his diligence to all the goods of the church, without respect to the time at which they might have been given. The bishop roundly dismissed the limitation of time asserted by the provost, as frivolous.

25. John Halle, one of the vicars, had asserted that the altar wine supplied by the sacrist to the church and infirmary chapel was not sound, but old and flavourless; and it had been found that it caused nausea and sickness in those who partook of it. The bishop, naturally horrified at the blasphemy involved, reminded the sacrist that 'according to the testimony both of the old and the new law, the sacrifice to be offered must be of the best', and enjoined him, under pain of excommunication, to be more careful in the ministry of the elements for so great a sacrament, 'wherein is the life of men and salvation most healthful and of the sweetest savour'.

26. All must, by virtue of the peremptory and threefold monition, keep the injunctions without breach.

27. The dean and his successors, or their lieutenants, must, under pain of excommunication, at any rate once at the beginning of every month, cause these injunctions to be read publicly in chapter, immediately after the reading of the statutes of the college.

VI.

THE REVISED STATUTES OF 1491

For the fifty years following bishop Alnwick's visitation the history of the college was tranquil and uneventful. During the seventy-five years of the college's existence before the accession of Walesby to the deanery, there had been six deans, whose connexion with Leicester and the college had been of the closest kind. Walesby was the first dean who had large preferments outside the deanery. When, after nineteen years of rule, he resigned in 1450, his successor was Richard Andrew, archdeacon of Salisbury, another well-provided clerk who was secretary to Henry VI. The date of Andrew's resignation is not known, and he apparently retained the deanery after his appointment as dean of York in 1452. He resigned it, however, in process of time,[1] and was succeeded at Leicester by William Witham, canon of Lincoln and subsequently dean of Wells, who vacated his office in the Newarke by his death in 1472. The next dean, William Dudley, dean of Bridgnorth and canon of St. Paul's, ruled for four years, from 1472 to 1476. While dean, he acquired in 1473 the deanery of St. George's, Windsor, and in 1475 the archdeaconry of Middlesex. In 1476 he received the great promotion of the bishopric of Durham, which he held until his death in 1483.[2]

William Chauntre, eleventh dean of the Newarke, was a less prominent person, whose only other preferments of importance appear to have been a canonry in St. Stephen's, the deanery of Bridgnorth and the prebend of Fordington and Writhlington

[1] See Le Neve, III, 125. The story of his appointment to the deanery of York is told more than once by Gascoigne (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, ed. Rogers, pp. 37, 47, 193, 203), who is our authority for his simultaneous tenure of the two deaneries (p. 193). Gascoigne's account is highly prejudiced, but the appointment of Andrew, who was forced upon the chapter of York by the king and pope, met with great opposition. Andrew's will, dated 12 Sept., 1477, is printed with biographical notes in *Test. Ebor.* (Surtees Soc.) iii, 232-237. It directs that two of his executors should go to Leicester after his death and see that mass and the office of the dead should be celebrated for him. Each canon who attended the service was to have 12d., each priest 8d., and each poor person 4d. The remuneration of the inferior officers of the church was left to the discretion of the executors.

[2] His preferments are summarised in the short article on his life in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* See a fuller note in *Archaeol. Journ.* lxxxiii, 83, 84.

in Salisbury.[3] In 1478 two years after his appointment to the deanery, he is named as one of the guardians of the manor of Diptford near Totnes and the hundred of Stanborough, Devon, which formed part of the heritage of Mary Hungerford, great-great-granddaughter of an old friend of the college, the executor of John of Gaunt.[4] Of this lady, who in 1478 was a minor in her thirteenth year, more will be said later on, as she became intimately connected with the history of the foundation. Chauntre also obtained the friendship of William, lord Hastings, who, well known in English history, left his mark upon the history of Leicestershire in his sumptuous buildings at Ashby-de-la-Zouch and Kirby Muxloe. Hastings, who had obtained a grant of St. Leonard's hospital from Edward IV, gave it to the college for ever, and with it the advowson and revenues of St. John's hospital. In return, Chauntre and his chapter covenanted to pay him an annuity of £20 out of their possessions during his life, and, after his death, to keep the obit and anniversary of him and Katherine his wife, daughter of Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, sister of the king-maker and widow of William Bonville, lord Harington. The usual payments in connexion with the obit were specified, 3s. 4d. to the dean, two shillings to each canon present, sixpence to each clerk, fourpence to the verger and each chorister, and a penny to each of the poor folk, all charged upon the hospital of St. Leonard. The date of this composition was 12 Feb., 1477-8.[5] In 1481, Mary Hungerford

[3] Jones, *Fasti Ecc. Sar.*, p. 382. See also *Archaeol. Journ.* u.s. 85, 86. His will (see p. 237 below, note 63) mentions the churches of Bottesford, Papworth Everard and Ilfracombe. He was instituted to Bottesford at the presentation of lord Hastings, 5 Nov., 1475 (Linc. Epis Reg. xxi, f. 69).

[4] *Cal. Pat.*, 1477-85, p. 129.

[5] Nichols, *Hist. Leicestershire*, I, 333. Part of an indenture relating to Hastings' obit found its way into the archives of Wyggeston's Hospital after the dissolution of the college. A translation of it will be found in *Wyggeston Hospital Records*, pp. 87-90. This, however, contains no mention of the special benefits which Hastings had conferred upon the college and says nothing of the annuity of £20. It is dated 12 Feb., 1471-2, six years earlier than the document cited by Nichols, which, unless Nichols was confusing his sources, must have been a renewal of the previous arrangement on revised terms. Hastings' will, proved 12 Aug., 1483, bequeathed £10 to the dean and chapter for his obit, together with a jewel of gold or silver of the value of £10 for a perpetual memorial, and altar-cloths, vestments and other ornaments to the value of £20, with ten marks to the bedehouse, for prayers for his soul (P.C.C. 10 Legge.) His widow in her will, proved 25 March 1503-4, left tenements in Burton Overy and Wigston which she had purchased of Elizabeth Kent (for whom see *Wyggeston Hospital Records*, pp. xxxiv, xxxv, etc.), to the college for an obit for her father, mother, husband and herself (P.C.C. 7 Holgrave).

became the wife of Hastings' son and heir, sir Edward Hastings, and in her long association with the college acquired an interest in the keeping of this obit, which came into prominence at the visitation of 1525. She is referred to in the will of Katherine lady Hastings (see previous note) as 'my daughter Mary lady Hungerford'. It was possibly through the Hungerford or Neville interest that Chauntre obtained his prebend at Salisbury. It may have been also through the influence of Hastings with Edward IV that, on 6 Feb., 1479-80, the dean obtained letters patent for the incorporation of the college, with a licence for the chapter to acquire property in mortmain to the amount of £100, acquittal from all fines or fees for charters or letters patent, and a confirmation of all the possessions of the foundation.[6] Although the duchy of Lancaster was vested in the Crown, the kings of the house of York were not likely upon their own responsibility to shew special favour to a college so intimately connected with the rival branch of the royal family. If, however, the friendship of Hastings secured them this privilege, it was not withdrawn after his fall and death; for, on 11 Feb., 1483-4, Richard III confirmed the dean and canons in their Welsh possessions, which had been usurped by evilly disposed persons, and gave them licence to send an envoy to perform the somewhat ungrateful task of surveying the alienated property.[7]

William Chauntre died towards the end of 1485, not long after the battle of Bosworth. His will, proved 28 Nov., 1485, directed his burial in the lower chapel of St. Stephen's between the font and the door, if he died within a mile of Westminster. A bequest of £50 to the dean and canons of St. Stephen's to acquire land, was, in case of their refusal, to go to the Newarke college and, failing this, to the exhibition of five poor scholars in the university of Cambridge, where he had been a fellow of King's Hall (P.C.C. 18 Legge). Henry VII immediately presented to the deanery one of his Welsh *protégés*, John Morgan, to whom he had also granted the deanery of St. George's, Windsor.[8] Morgan held office for eleven years. In 1488 he obtained the archdeaconry of Carmarthen,[9] which he held till 1493-4, and in 1492-3 the prebend of Rugmere in St. Paul's.[10] He became bishop of St. David's in 1496 and died in 1504. His will, proved 14 May, 1504, was made in Carmarthen priory on 25 April. He

[6] *Cal. Pat.*, 1477-85, pp. 178, 179.

[7] Nichols, *op. cit.*, I, 334.

[8] See his life in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[9] Le Neve, I, 312.

[10] *Ibid.*, II, 430.

was buried on the south side of the nave in St. David's cathedral (P.C.C. 8 Holgrave). His tenure of the deanery is marked by one event of considerable importance, the complete revision of the statutes. About the beginning of 1488 he petitioned pope Innocent VIII to grant a bull for this purpose. His plea represented that some of the founder's statutes were obscure and confused in their wording, while others were imperfect and quite out of date. In consequence, the dean and canons frequently found themselves at variance, and, if no alterations were made, these dissensions were likely to grow. The pope, by bull of 11 May 1488, appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, John Morton, and the bishop of Lincoln, John Russell, commissioners for a complete recension of the statutes, with full power to confirm, modify or abrogate them, or add to their number if necessary. John Sherman and Walter Barbour, prebendaries of the seventh and eighth stalls respectively, presented the bull to bishop Russell at Liddington on behalf of the chapter, and left with him such charters and other muniments as were necessary.[11] The pope had allowed the commissaries the handsome limit of ten years for their work, and Russell took some time over it. The new statutes, however, were promulgated at Liddington on 9 March, 1490-1. They were drawn up by William Spenser, notary public, and were witnessed by Thomas Hutton, archdeacon of Bedford, and by four other of the bishop's clerks, William Stevens, Andrew Benstede, William Porter and Roger Wode. Of these, three were canons of Lincoln, Benstede being prebendary of Welton Beckhall, Porter of Crakepole St. Mary, and Wode of Thorngate, while the fourth, Stevens, obtained the hundred shilling prebend in that church in 1492.[12]

The new statutes, founded upon a close collation with the old, were copied at length into Russell's register. They are not numbered, but the division into chapters is clearly marked by their arrangement in paragraphs, the opening words of each of which are engrossed in a larger and more formal hand than the rest. The work of collation, revision and addition was performed with a thoroughness which does credit to the industry and acumen of the bishop and his clerks. The process of composition is described in the final paragraph which abrogates the old body of statutes and enjoins the observance in their place of the new. A few of the old statutes were cut out and annulled as superfluous and useless; many were allowed to stand in their original vigour

11 Probably in 1489, but the date is not given.

12 The bull, Russell's decree, and the statutes in full are given in Lincoln Epis. Reg. xxii, ff. 55-65.

with renewal and approval. Certain others which suffered from confusion and obscurity, or were imperfect or of no use because some of their terms and provisions were obsolete, were recast and cleared up by interpretations, definitions, alterations and new clauses, with the addition of fresh penalties and premiums .

We have seen how the original version of the statutes was considerably modified by bishop Gynewell to bring them into keeping with the condition and resources of the growing but as yet imperfectly endowed foundation. These versions we have called A and B. We have also seen how, with the provision of further endowments, a codicil was added to B with the object of restoring stipends and allowances which had been reduced in B to the scale contemplated in A, and of supplying fresh material in keeping with the enlarged circumstances of the college. In the new version (C) much of the codicil, where it concerns additions to stipends, is combined with the text of the earlier statutes in B so as to restore the original substance of these statutes given in A. The text of B, with its variations from A, is the basis of C, which varies from it, save in instances where complete recasting seemed desirable, mainly in the interpolation and addition of new or qualifying clauses. As a matter of fact, only three of the A statutes which had not already been omitted from B were omitted from C, and C added only three statutes which were in any sense new. Other additions must be studied in the following notes on C, and their meaning and purpose can be gauged in the translation of their contents.

1. Includes 1, 2 in A, B into a single statute, with alteration of the opening words of 2 into 'Also, as it is plainly known to have been established by us in former years', etc., as 2 in A, B.

2. As 3 in A, B, with the omission of 'severally' and the substitution of 'precentor and treasurer' for 'sacrist and almoner'. The following is added: 'provided, however, that, if he allege and prove infirmity or any other lawful impediment, the dean or his lieutenant may determine to excuse him so nominated and elected from undertaking the office for that turn'.

3. As 4 in A, B, following the alterations in B.

4. As 5 in A, with the addition, after 'twenty marks sterling', of the words: 'together with six cartloads of hay and ten quarters of oats or pease out of the goods of the church'. Thus statutes B 77, 78, in which the codicil restored the portions subtracted in B 5 and augmented the provision for the dean, are included in C 4.

5. As 6 in A, including the partial restoration of the sum subtracted in B 6 which was provided for by statute B 79 in the codicil, and the conditional restoration of the rest promised in statute B 80.

6. As 7 in A, but with the portion of ten marks reduced to five in B and restored to ten in statute B 81 augmented to twelve, and with the addition, for the source of which see B 82 : 'together with the hay, litter and provender assigned hereafter for his horses'.

7. As 8 in A, with the substitution of 'precentor' for 'sacrist' and of forty shillings for the 20 marks wrongly given in the original text. This had been altered to twenty shillings in B. The present statute includes the substance of B 83, by which twenty shillings more had been added.

8. Each of the vicars shall yearly receive, in the name of his vicarage and his stipend seventy-eight shillings sterling or in gold in equal portions at the four terms of the year previously assigned out of the goods of the church.

Simplified, with the omission of details, from 9 in A, B. The sum is made up of the stipend of 52s. and the 26s. 8d. which formed the extra allowance for clothing, etc.

9. As 10 in B, with the addition of the words : 'together with thirteen shillings and fourpence for his livery over and above the forty shillings aforesaid'. This includes the substance of B 84, which restored the extra mark provided by A and omitted in B.

10. There shall be six chorister boys at the nomination of the precentor, to be admitted by the dean if they be suitable, who shall minister in the church in their habit and with the tonsure after the manner of the choristers of the cathedral church of Salisbury. They shall stay at the board of one or two of the canons, as the dean shall appoint. And the canons for their board shall receive, out of fifty-three shillings and fourpence to be paid to the canons severally for each chorister by the provost hereafter at the four terms of the year aforesaid, a reasonable sum to be limited at the judgment of the dean, while the residue of the said fifty-three shillings and fourpence shall be faithfully spent, with the dean's knowledge, upon the raiment of the choristers and their other necessaries, or at any rate to their best advantage. The choristers shall also be bound to spend the night in the houses of the canons at whose board they shall stay, or at any rate within

the college, and the canons shall be bound to instruct the choristers in behaviour and knowledge.

This is an expansion of statutes B 11 and B 85, 86 in the codicil, with additions and alterations. The sum of 53s. 4d. is made up of the 40s. prescribed in A, B 11, and the extra mark prescribed in A, deducted by B and restored in B 85.

11. Also, following the force and effect of the statutes, the original form of which ordained five poor serving-women over and above the number of fifty poor folk, and the later added in all respects a like number of poor folk and of serving women, so that there should be there a hundred poor folk and ten serving-women for all time at the charge and cost of the college, we decree and ordain that every one of the poor folk shall receive and have weekly for every day a penny, and each of the ten women for every day weekly a penny with a halfpenny, at the hands of the treasurer or another person in his name, to be paid weekly out of the common goods of the church to the treasurer by the provost or another of the canons in his name. But if haply it shall chance hereafter that the said number of a hundred poor folk and ten women shall in any wise be lessened, we decree and ordain that those men and poor women previously admitted to these alms who shall happen at that time to be found there shall receive and have as much and all that sum of money as and which the poor men and women aforesaid would receive, if they were still there in full number.

12. As in A, B 13, embodying also B 91, in which the clauses omitted from B 13 were restored.

13. Also we ordain that the poor folk shall lie together in one common house, wherein a chapel has been constructed for them, unless they be found absent from the said hospital when they happen to be out of town with the dean's leave—leave, however, which shall not be granted in any wise for more than thirty days in the year continuously or at intervals. In the which chapel we decree that one mass shall be celebrated daily for the poor folk about the dawn of every day as the chapter shall appoint, and another mass about ten o'clock at the discretion of the precentor, by two vicars to be assigned for that purpose every week by the dean or his lieutenant and the chapter, or by other persons wearing the habit of the college who will kindly supply their place, to the end that such poor folk lying and being together in the house, may be able to behold devoutly the elevation of the Body of Christ at the masses to be said in the chapel; Good Friday, however, being

in no wise included in the number of the said days as regards the burthen of such masses.

A revised and expanded version of A 17 (B 14).

14. As in A 18 (B 15). The sum of ten marks in B is altered to twenty, as in A. To the words 'If the provost fail' is added 'by negligence'. 'Within the eight days thereafter' is omitted, apparently by mistake.

15—19. A note in C states: 'Here follow five more chapters of the ancient statutes in order, whereto and wherefrom we add and subtract nothing. Their words are such as follow'. The text is that of B 16—20, following its alterations of and additions to A 19—21, 23, 24. There are a few unimportant verbal variations. The last clause of 19 alters A 24, B 20 thus: 'They shall wear also supertunics reaching to their heels and suitable tunics as befits the decency of the clergy according to the manner and custom of the district'.

20. On the principal feasts, at the end of the procession, the dean and canons and each of the ministers, save only the rulers of the choir, may be freely allowed to lay aside their precious copes and to remain in their stalls during mass in their own habits as the season shall require.

A new statute.

21. As in B 21 (A 25, 26). The duty of the two clerks (A 26) is modified, for the words 'to help the priests . . . . masses' being substituted 'to serve in choir as the precentor shall appoint'. The following addition is made: 'In addition to the aforesaid we decree, in pursuance, as we are credibly informed, of the intention of one Roger Fyschwyke of honest memory, sometime canon of the college,[13] that there be nominated from time to time by the dean some youth who has the intention of taking holy orders, to be as it were the fourth clerk of the church, who on every day that is not a festival shall give his time to his schooling, save that on feasts of nine lessons, as on Sundays and festivals, he shall be bound to do service in choir under the oversight of the precentor, even as the choristers are bound'.

22. As in A 28, B 23. 'A layman or married clerk' appears as 'a clerk or married layman'.

23. As in A 30, B 24, as far as the word 'recreation', with unimportant verbal changes. The two months allowed for the

[13] See lists of canons. Fysshewyke was prebendary of the thirteenth stall 1435-1453.

canons' holiday are, however, increased to three. After "recreation' the following addition is made: 'We will and ordain also that, over and above the said three months, every dean for the time being may have power to absent himself from the church for the sake of recreation for two other calendar months, to be reckoned continuously or by intervals, and every other canon who is beneficed elsewhere for a month, provided that such canon for his month and such dean for his two months reside continuously or at intervals outside the college in one or more of his benefices or about the business of it or them. Provided nevertheless that at one and the same time four canons other than the dean and no more may have power to use such leave of absence, on condition, however, that if any one of the principal feasts fall during their months of absence, every such absent canon shall be bound to return to the church for such principal feast, of whatever kind it be, under pain of the loss of five marks to be applied to the canons who are present, as often as he shall happen to be absent on any of the said feasts. The vicars shall have power to be absent for not more than two calendar months in the year, nor at one and the same time more than three vicars when the stalls are full, or when one stall only is vacant. But if two stalls be vacant at the same time, two vicars only may be absent; and if three stalls be so vacant, only one vicar may be absent until such vacancy be filled up, so that the church may not be left in serious want, as regards the divine offices, by the absence of more than these. Absent vicars all and sundry shall be utterly compelled, as has been set forth above in the case of the canons, to return to the church for the principal feasts, if any such fall within the period of absence of any of them. It is not, however, our intention that, if any one of the canons have deserved, for a reasonable cause alleged and approved in chapter and by the judgment of chapter a dispensation to absent himself from such residence, over and above the four canons aforesaid during their period of absence, save, as is aforesaid, on the principal feasts, it shall not be lawful for him to act accordingly, provided that such dispensation extend not to more than two such supernumerary canons, and that the days granted by the dispensation shall take off from the months of recreation granted to them as much time as the period to which, according to their custom, they shall appear to amount, so that by this latest indulgence no canon may seem to be allowed one day more in the year than has been previously expressed'.

24. As in A 31, B 25. The first clause is expanded: 'If it shall happen that any of the canons shall (etc.) for more than the four months, or any of the vicars for more than the two months during the year (etc). For 'of his prebend' read 'of the canon's prebend and from the vicar's stipend'. The latter part of the statute reads thus: 'And if it happen . . . . for fifteen days more than the months allowed for recreation . . . . the dean, from that time such absentee, if he be a canon,. . . . prebend, and, if he be a vicar, of his vicarage, unless he who has so prolonged his absence for more than fifteen days shall ransom himself *de facto* from deprivation by the payment of six shillings and eightpence for every day of the second fortnight, and then, if he have not fulfilled his ransom in actual fact, another person shall be presented by the patron of the place for the time being in manner . . . . shall be substituted . . . . deprived'. A special clause is added: 'But if it happen that the dean absent himself from the church for a fortnight more than the five calendar months in the year to be reckoned by continuous days or by intervals, without evident advantage to the church or other reasonable cause, and be convicted of this before the bishop who is diocesan of the place, every portion or sum assigned to the dean in the name of his deanery or prebend for the year in which he has so absented himself shall be altogether withdrawn from him, save only the forty shillings payable to him every year for ever as the portion and in the name of his deanery, wherever he may be, and for what length of time whatever he may be so absent'.

25. As in A 32, B 26, as follows: 'The dean . . . . ministers resident in the church shall be bound . . . . and a mass of the day and another of the blessed Virgin Mary with song. And, as regards matins and vespers of the blessed Virgin, considering the scantness of the other ministers of the college, they shall be bound to recite such matins and vespers and the other hours of the blessed Virgin antiphonally every day on which, according to the ordinal of Salisbury, they should be said in assembly. And they should celebrate the feast of the most holy and undivided Trinity as a principal with its octave, at any rate on such days and feasts as are not of nine lessons, with rule of choir, and should say the commemoration or memorial of the Trinity[14] at matins and vespers of the day or of St. Mary, even as the other collegiate

[14] The custom of keeping Trinity Sunday in the college as 'Relic Sunday' appears to have been responsible for the informal addition of the Holy Trinity to the original dedication, and to have been the origin of the present dedication of the Trinity Hospital.

churches which follow the use of Salisbury are well known to do as concerns their patrons'. The mass *Salus populi,* prescribed during the founder's lifetime, is of course abrogated and the passage contracted to 'all those to whom he was bound, and the mass that is wont to be said for the departed at the north altar next the high altar for the duke's soul'. For the last clause, 'And they all shall arise', etc., this is substituted: 'The canons, vicars and other ministers shall begin matins every day about six o'clock in the morning and not before, unless it shall seem to be expedient otherwise to the dean or to his lieutenant and the more or sounder part of the chapter on account of the importance of the day or the nature of the festival'.

26. B 27 thus modified: 'The dean, when resident in the church, if not withheld . . . . shall be bound to be present at high masses. Otherwise he shall undergo appropriate correction by the ordinary of the place'.

27. B 28, thus modified: 'All and sundry the canons other than the dean, except those noticed in statute 22 (*rectius* 23) above, shall be present every day in the year at matins, high masses, vespers and compline. At the other hours, to wit prime, terce, sext and none, one canon at least shall be bound to be present in choir in addition to the officiant for the day. But if it happen that any of the canons be absent from matins, masses, vespers or from any other hour on any day in the year otherwise than is premised, unless during the period of recreation assigned and granted as above, or at any rate without reasonable cause to be approved by the judgment of the dean, he shall be bound to pay without fraud or guile, as often as such absence occurs, on that same account, if he be absent from matins, a penny, and if from mass or from vespers or any hour, a halfpenny, to be applied to the use of the dean and the other canons who are present in choir at the same'.

28. B 29, thus modified: 'All the vicars . . . . shall be continually and in person present at matins and while high mass shall be sung in choir, and six at least or more, as it shall seem expedient to the dean, while high mass shall be sung in the chapel of St. Mary, under penalty', etc. This is added: 'Provided, however, that for the days all and sundry whereon such mass of the blessed Virgin Mary shall be solemnly chanted by the chorister boys and three or two of the vicars in the said chapel, the penalty of the others for absence from the said mass should cease and be forgiven'.

29. B 30, thus modified: 'If .... accustomed to absent himself from matins and the canonical hours otherwise than is above premised or permitted, and without reasonable cause .... he shall be punished further with another penalty to be imposed at the will of the dean, to be applied .... to the dean and the other canons then present. This also shall be understood and observed in the case of every penalty to be imposed by the dean upon the canons for their absence from choir'.

30. As in B 31, with the omission of 'choristers', reading 'the clerks or any other minister'.

31. As in A 34, B 32, somewhat abbreviated: 'The canon who is marked down by the precentor to have the chief conduct or exercise of the office of hebdomadary shall execute and exercise it in his own person, or cause it to be exercised diligently by another of the canons for his week', etc.

32. As in A 35, B 33, with the addition: 'Saving, however, the authority of the bishop as local ordinary, or of the patron, when either of them is present, as is contained below'.

33. As in A 36, B 34, thus altered: 'The dean shall in no wise absent himself without deputing another canon to take his place and promise to celebrate masses in his stead and say matins and vespers on principal feasts, if such principal feasts chance to fall during the periods of his absence'.

34. As in A 37, B 35, with merely verbal alterations.

35. As in A 38, B 36. Read: 'for the soul of king Edward the third and the lady Philippa his consort, queen of England, even as in the original statutes they were bound to pray for their estate while they were still on earth'.

36. As in A 39, B 37, with the addition: 'saving always in every respect the former statute concerning the time for the beginning of matins'.

37. As in A 40, B 38, following as usual the text of B throughout, with the exception that the quarterly reading of the statutes is prescribed for 'days to be appointed for this purpose by the judgment of the chapter'. Read also, 'that perjury may not be incurred, or the honour and advantage of the college be otherwise held in neglect'. The final clause as in B has the marginal note: *Nota de correccione compertorum in visitacione episcopi.*

38. As in A 41, B 39. For the concluding words of the last clause in B, read: 'which shall be applied, partly to the others who are present at such hours, and partly to other uses, as is contained above'.

39. As in A 42*a*, B 40. The names of feasts are omitted, and the general direction 'throughout all principal feasts' substituted. For the last clause in B read, after 'founders of the church', 'if the dean be present and be disposed to celebrate unless the contrary seem to be expedient to the bishop as ordinary of the place, or to the founder and patron of the church'.

41. As in A 42 *b, c* (included in B 40).

42. As in A 42*d* (included in B 40). The alterations are merely verbal. Extreme unction of the sick is to be administered by the dean 'or any other canon present within the close', but by the dean 'if he be present within the close'. Canons who cannot be present at vigils of the dead are to send 'another priest' as their substitute. The concluding words, 'and for the souls of the founders' are omitted.

43. As in A 42*e* (included in B 40).

44. As in A 43. For the words added in B 41 is substituted: 'or shall be found gadding about in the town by night or day'. The final clause is altered thus: 'And if any of them be found incorrigible and be convicted of this before the dean, the vicars, clerks and ministers inferior to the canons shall be entirely amoved from the church by the dean and chapter. But if they be canons who are found guilty herein, after discussion by the dean of the cause of their incorrigibility they shall be denounced to the bishop as local ordinary, in order that, if the case demands it, they may receive deprivation of their prebends from the same person from whom they have their institution to the same'.

45. As in B 42, beginning 'If the dean or any canon for the time being'. Lower down, 'the same dean or canon', and at the end, 'as shall seem to him and to the major part of the chapter expedient'.

46. As in A 44, with this modification: 'shall presume to spend the night in the town or suburbs of Leicester outside their houses, unless for a reasonable cause to be approved by the judgment of the dean'.

47. As in A 45, with the omission of the words 'when he shall have departed this life', and a slight change in the construction which does not affect the sense.

48, 49. As in A 46, 47, without change.

50. As in A 48, with the omission of a few otiose words.

51. As in A 49, with the alterations noted in B 48 and the addition: 'But by the premises we do not intend to derogate from the statute written below concerning the office of the treasurer, so as to hinder him from having the oversight of the hospitals of St. Leonard and St. John and of the tenements of the college in the town of Leicester and the neighbouring parts, concerning which the provost shall be held to be discharged'.

52. As in A 50, omitting all after 'resident in the same'.

53. As in A 51, with the alteration 'fuel for himself, hay for three horses and litter', and with this addition: 'But the hay, litter, pease or oats which hitherto he has been accustomed to receive at home from the college for his horses, he shall not keep longer than for the time during which he shall be found profitable in his office, so that the whole of that which would have belonged to him if he had continued for a whole year in his office shall be rendered to his successor'.

54. As in A 53*a*, with variations as in B 52. The word 'precentor' is substituted for 'sacrist'. The tapers for the procession are reduced from a pound of wax to three quarters of a pound, and the two tapers upon the high altar are omitted. The lamp burning in the church (*i.e.*, in the nave) by night is to be supplied at the precentor's discretion. The directions added in B are repeated, with the substitution of 'other days' for 'week-days'. For the final clause, 'He shall also find', etc., this is substituted: 'As regards candles for reading or singing in choir, he shall find such as are necessary in suitable number out of the expenses of the college, as hitherto has been customarily done there'.

55. As in A 53*b*, with variations as in B 53, and 'precentor' instead of 'sacrist'.

56. As in A 54*a*, with 'precentor' for 'sacrist'.

57. As in A 54*b*, with 'precentor' instead of 'sacrist'.

58. As in A 54*c*, with 'precentor' instead of 'sacrist' and with alterations as in B 56. The last clause, 'But the provost', etc., is omitted.

59. As in A 55, with 'precentor' instead of 'sacrist'.

60. As in B 58, with omission of 'with the consent of the duke' and with 'precentor' instead of 'sacrist'.

61. As in A 57, with 'precentor' instead of 'sacrist'.

62. As in A 58, with 'treasurer' instead of 'almoner'.

63. As in A 60, with 'treasurer' instead of 'almoner' and omission of the words 'and do service'. The following clause is added: 'And, if any of the serving women die or be incapable of doing service to the poor folk, then shall the dean choose and appoint in her place one who is capable'.

64. As in A 61, with 'treasurer for the time being' instead of 'almoner'.

65. As in B 63, with 'treasurer' instead of 'almoner'. After 'for the time being' is added 'inasmuch as he should not be deputed only to the office of the almonry for the poor folk, but also to have the oversight of the tenements of the college in the town of Leicester and the parts adjacent, such as the hospitals of St. Leonard and St. John with their churches and houses'. The sum is altered from twenty shillings to eight marks.

66. As in A 62. The words 'which are assigned to the deanery and its prebend in perpetuity' are omitted. After the words 'the dean and each of the canons shall be bound' is added 'by himself and severally'. For 'decease, cession' is substituted 'decession'. The following clause is added: 'And, in order that the defaults in the repairs of such houses as belong to any one of the canons may be discerned with greater expedition, we will that two canons be deputed from year to year by authority of the subdean (*sic*) and of his or their lieutenant to survey such defaults and to report to the chapter all that which is discovered by them concerning this'.

67. As in A 67, with 'precentor' instead of 'treasurer', and 'treasurer' instead of 'almoner'.

68. As in A 68, with the addition as in B 67.

69. As in A 69, with the addition: 'according to the rate of the portions which the canons have been wont to receive severally apart from the vicars, and the vicars apart from the canons, as at obits'.

70. As in A 70. Two chests are ordained instead of three. 'Treasurer' is substituted for 'almoner' (B 69), and 'precentor' for 'sacrist'. For the last clause, 'and in the third', etc., this is substituted: 'As regards the third chest which of old time was ordained that the books of the chapter should be put together therein, it is not necessary because the books are in the library;

and they should not be lent outside the precinct of the college in any wise, unless with a sufficient caution for double the value of every book so lent'.

71. As in A 71, with 'treasurer' instead of 'almoner' (B), and 'precentor' instead of 'sacrist'.

72—74. As in A 72—74.

75. As in A 75. For 'and shall be admitted' is substituted 'in order that he may be admitted'.

76. As in A 76.

77. Altered from additional statute B 87 as follows: 'Also we ordain and decree that each of the canons shall receive yearly from his vicar for his board, which is to be supplied to the vicars by the canons, whether the canons be present or absent, forty shillings, unless it shall seem expedient to the vicars for reasonable causes to be approved by the reasonable judgment of the dean to board with other persons of the church than their own masters; in which case the vicars may board with other persons within the church with the dean's leave, so long as it shall please him'.

78. As in additional statute B 89. For 'they shall be corrected' is substituted 'those in default shall be corrected'. The following is added: 'to the which chapter let all the vicars and inferior persons know that they should be bound in obedience'.

79. As in additional statute B 88.

80. As in additional statute B 90, but altered thus: 'Also whereas it was decreed and ordained of old time', etc., that each of the poor folk should receive and have, etc., 'We, considering that such statute has never been carried into execution in former times and that the college lost a great part of its original endowment after the death of the duke its founder, and because the offerings made at the poor folks' box should belong of right to the collegiate church, decree and ordain that such poor folk present and future shall use and enjoy all the offerings made at such box in recompense of the halfpenny granted to each poor person in the form abovesaid, and that the treasurer, the provost and the whole college shall be utterly discharged of that halfpenny and of each of the halfpennies above appointed as regards the poor folk'.

81. As in additional statute B 91, with the alterations 'in pursuance of the consent of the duke' and 'built' instead of 'intends to build' (see A 13), and with the following addition: 'And because, as we relate with sorrow, it has happened of late that

some of the number of the poor folk after their admission to the alms aforesaid have been troubled with madness and insanity so as to be unbearable to their fellows, and no provision has hitherto been made for them of a place where during the persistence of such disease they could be set without disturbance to the others, we decree therefore and ordain that the dean and canons, so often as such a case shall befall, shall cause such a mad or demented person to be put out and kept in some hired place or by some other convenient provision on the daily diet which otherwise he would receive within the hospital, so that, while such madness or insanity lasts, he may neither be able nor liable to disturb the company of the other poor folk by importunate shouting or in any other way'.

82. As in additional statute B 92, with the alteration 'in pursuance of the consent of the duke'. The number of forty is altered to fifty, and for 'who shall be resident abiding therein' is substituted 'who are resident or abiding therein shall have in one year'. For 'almoner' read 'treasurer'. The following is added: 'and that the fifty other poor folk of the said number shall have the same on the same feast in the year next following, thus alternating the livery from year to year between fifty and fifty poor folk for ever. Saving that if considering the state of the weather it shall seem more convenient to give them gowns, giving such gowns without hoods, the college shall be discharged from giving hoods'.

83. As in additional statute B 93, with the addition: 'among the which hundred poor folk all care should be taken that the number of women shall not surpass the number of a hundred aforesaid'.

84. As in additional statute B 94, with the alteration 'in pursuance of the consent of the duke'.

85. As in additional statute B 95, with the addition of the words 'or his lieutenant' to 'by the dean'.

86. As in additional statute B 96, with 'precentor' instead of 'sacrist'.

87—89. As in additional statutes B 97—99, without change.

90. A revision of A 77, providing separate forms of oath for the dean, canons and vicars. For 'oath' read 'oaths'. For 'the form of the oath', etc., is substituted 'according to that form which shall seem appropriate to the estate and degree of him who takes it. Now the form of the dean's oath is as follows:

I N. dean of the new collegiate church of blessed Mary of Leicester (etc.), and to my brethren the canons of the same (etc.), the ordinances (etc.), uttered at the original foundation of the college by apostolic authority (etc.), by the grace of God then bishop of Lincoln, even as by the same authority the same statutes were reformed and brought into order in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred and ninety by another reverend father John bishop of Lincoln, and will not fraudulently or craftily infringe any one of them. And I will defend (etc.), and these holy Gospels. The form of a canon's oath is as follows: I N. canon of the new collegiate church of blessed Mary of Leicester (etc., as in the revised text of the dean's oath). And the form of a vicar's oath is as follows: I N. vicar of the new collegiate church of blessed Mary of Leicester, from this hour hereafter will be faithful to the new collegiate church of blessed Mary of Leicester, the dean, canons and vicars of the same, and, as far (etc., as in the revised text of the dean's oath). The provision added in B 76 is omitted.

91. A new statute. 'In addition to these things we decree that, as often as any of the statutes aforesaid, whether in the nature of precepts or prohibitions, which contain no certain or determined penalty against violators of the same, shall chance to be infringed or transgressed, the penalty of perjury shall not be incurred by the offenders, but the offenders themselves shall take care to undergo and fulfil effectually with ready and obedient minds such arbitrary penalties as their superiors for the time being shall appoint. Otherwise they who contumaciously refuse to submit to such arbitrary penalties, or other penalties that are specially enjoined against delinquents in the preceding statutes, after they have been commanded by their superiors to undergo such penalties, shall, as perjurers and unworthy of any ecclesisastical benefice, be utterly and for ever expelled from the estate which they hold in the said college.

92. A new statute. 'As a final addition we decree, as some recompense for the labour of the vicars, who according to the ordinances abovewritten are bound under certain penalties and fines to do service continually at divine worship in choir, that as often as the stall of any one of the vicars shall fall vacant by reason of his decease or retirement, half the stipend which the vicar would have received while in occupation of his stall for the time corresponding to the voidance shall be divided equally among the vicars who are present, notwithstanding the statute

which ordains the application of the entire sum to the fabric of the church.

This concludes the complete number of ninety-two statutes given in the peroration to Russell's revision. But two supplementary statutes were added, probably as an afterthought.

93. And, because the feast of the dedication of the church has of custom been celebrated on the feast of St. Hugh in the month of November, we, being unwilling that the patron of our cathedral church of Lincoln shall be defrauded of the offices due to him in any part of our diocese, decree and ordain that henceforward the feast of the dedication shall be celebrated with due solemnity on the first day of October every year in the said college, and the feast of St. Hugh on the seventeenth day of November.

94. Moreover we decree and appoint that once in every quarter of the year, to wit, after the reading of the statutes, all and sundry the canons and vicars and other ministers of the college, who at that time shall be bound to come together to the chapter-house early in the morning, should have and receive for the greater relief of their consciences, so far as may concern their frailty as regards their observance of the above statutes, absolution in the form prescribed by the church, together with certain moderate penances to be enjoined at that time by the president of chapter, preceded by the general confession, prayers and collects which are accustomed to be said in the university of Cambridge.

It is obvious that the new code shews some relaxation of strictness, especially in such cases as that of residence in the college, and that the qualifications and exceptions afford loop-holes for an easy observance of certain statutes. It will be seen that further interpretation was occasionally required at a later date; but no other general revision was called for before the end of the history of the college.

VII.

FROM 1491 TO 1518

After the promotion of John Morgan to the bishopric of St. David's, the deanery of the Newarke college was filled in quick succession by five clerks, all persons of some distinction in law or theology. Robert Middleton (1496-9) obtained prebends in Lichfield and Lincoln cathedrals during his tenure of office.[1] William Stockdale, who succeeded him in January, 1499-1500, died before the end of the year, and was succeeded in his turn by James Whitston, canon and prebendary of Lincoln.[2] Whitston died in 1512, and the next appointment was that of John Yonge, master of the rolls, and canon and prebendary of St. Paul's.[3] Instituted to the deanery in January, 1512-3, he became dean of York in the following year.[4] In consequence of this preferment, he appears to have resigned his church of St. Mary-le-Bow; and, as he was instituted to the church of Therfield, Herts., in 1513, the deanery of the Newarke was probably no longer compatible with his other benefices. At any rate, he resigned it before the end of 1515. He died early in 1516: his monument, long in the Rolls chapel, and now preserved in the museum of the Public Record Office, is well-known as one of those erections which testify to the temporary vogue of Italian Renaissance influence in England during the early part of the reign of Henry VIII.

On 16 May, 1511, while Whitston was still dean, letters patent were granted to William Wigston of Leicester, junior, merchant of the staple, Thomas Wigston, clerk, then prebendary of the thirteenth stall, Roger Wigston, and William Colte, to found a chantry of two chaplains at the altar of our Lady, St. Ursula, and

1 Le Neve, *Fasti*, I, 597; II, 194.

2 *Ibid.*, II, 105, 229. Stockdale's will was proved 15 Oct., 1500 (P.C.C. 14 Horne). It directs his burial at St. Bride's, Fleet Street: his name is not in the list of rectors, but there is a gap after 1499. Whitston was also a canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster (James Whitstance in Hennessy, p. 456): his will, proved 17 Sept., 1512, bequeathed his best coverlet in the deanery to the college and four pounds to the canons, vicars and ministers for exequies and mass for his soul (P.C.C. 20 Fettiplace).

3 See his life in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and Le Neve, u.s. II, 392, etc. His will, proved 17 May, 1517 (P.C.C. 17 Holder) contains no reference to the college.

4 Le Neve, u.s. III, 126.

St. Katherine in the collegiate church, to be known as the chantry of William Wigston. The king, queen Katherine, the founder, and the souls of his parents and benefactors were the objects of the masses and prayers of the chaplains, who were duly incorporated.[5] In Mr. Skillington's paper upon *The Chantry House in the Newarke* some account has been given of the munificent founder, whose name, more permanently associated with his hospital and its endowments, is familiar to every inhabitant of Leicester, and of the conditions upon which his chantry was established.[6] The foundation was completed on 20 Jan., 1512-3, sixteen days after Yonge had succeeded Whitston as dean, by a quadripartite indenture between Wigston, the dean and canons, the abbot and convent of St. Mary of the Meadows, and the mayor and burgesses of Leicester, by which Wigston paid a hundred marks to the chapter and assigned to them the manor of Chester-by-the-Water in Irchester parish, Northants, with his lands, tenements and rents in Chester-by-the-Water, Little Chester, Irchester, and Irthlingborough, and two messuages and two yardlands in Knighton, to the annual value of £20. Out of this property the chapter agreed to pay each of the chantry priests seven pounds yearly, and to keep Wigston's obit on 26 January in each year. The abbot and convent and mayor and burgesses were appointed trustees of the chantry property, which was leased to them for ninety-nine years by the dean and canons. Wigston also paid an extra sum of ten marks for the stipulation that, owing to this increase of property, the dean and canons should add half a mark yearly to the stipend of their business officer, the provost. The provisions for the chantry and Wigston's obit were of the usual character, the obit payments being on the scale prescribed by the statutes for the obits of earl Henry and his countess and duke Henry.[7] The most interesting feature connected with this chantry was the construction of the chapel in which it was celebrated beneath one of the arches of the north arcade of the nave in the collegiate church, with screens of latten forming its enterclose. Remembering the latten screen which surrounds the tomb of Henry VII at Westminster, we can realise the beauty of this addition to the church, while we have

5 The text is printed by Nichols, op. cit., I, app. p. 112.

6 See *Assoc. Archit. Soc. Reports and Papers*, XXXI, 431-4, 439-40. See also the introduction to *Wyggeston Hosp. Records*, where the relationships of the various members of the Wigston family are traced.

7 See original statutes 46, 47, p. 63 above.

one more cause of regret for the disappearance of that noble building with all its historical memories.[8]

Dean Yonge was succeeded by one who, like him, had been a Wykehamist and fellow of New college, William Knight.[9] At the time of his appointment he had won distinction as a diplomatist and was chaplain to the king. His connexion with the college lasted barely eighteen months, and it was not until after his resignation in 1517 that his career of distinguished perferment began. Before the end of 1517 he obtained the prebends of Horton in Salisbury[10] and Chamberlainwood in St. Paul's.[11] Appointed archdeacon of Chester in 1522, he held with this office the archdeaconry of Huntingdon in 1523. In 1529 he became archdeacon of Richmond, holding the archdeaconry of Chester, his two prebends and other preferments with that important post. Eventually, upon the formation of the diocese of Chester out of his two archdeaconries, he was promoted to the see of Bath and Wells in 1541, and died in 1547.[12] A beautiful, though little known, memorial of the artistic taste of this eminent servant of the Crown remains in the prebendal manor-house of Horton, near Chipping Sodbury. In a deep fold of the beech-crowned ridge of hill which runs southward from the Cotswolds and ends in the high promontory of Lansdown is the small and scattered village of Horton, the church and manor of which formed the 'golden prebend' of the church of Salisbury. Here stand side by side the handsome fifteenth-century church and a small house of the later part of the twelfth century. The history of the enlargement of this manor-house has been somewhat obscured by later alterations; but the entrance porch of the large block, to which the older house is now a mere appendage, belongs to the additions made by William Knight, and displays, like Yonge's tomb, the influence of Italian art in its graceful, if somewhat carelessly composed design and detail. A loggia or covered walk in the garden of the house, the spandrils of its arches filled with large medallions containing heads of a classical type in bas-relief, may also be attributed to Knight, who evidently made Horton one of his favourite places of residence. Within a very short distance of Horton, and

[8] See Nichols, op. cit., I, 334-5. The full text is printed from the original indenture in *Wyggeston Hosp. Records*, pp. 2-15.

[9] For his life, see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[10] Jones, *Fasti Eccl. Sar.*, p. 395.

[11] Le Neve, II, 375.

[12] *Ibid.*, I, 567; III, 141, etc. His will proved 11 Nov., 1547 (P.C.C. 48 Alen) contains no mention of the college.

on the side of the same slope of hills, is the even more beautiful manor-house of Little Sodbury, where William Tyndale the reformer is said to have lived and worked at some time during the first five years of Knight's tenure of his golden prebend.

In spite of the careful recension of the statutes in a spirit of the utmost latitude, it seems that, in the appointment of the five deans just mentioned, one of the cardinal statutes of the college had been systematically broken. According to statute 16 of the new code (A 20, B 17), the dean was to be nominated from among the number of canons. In the case of the early deans, after the first, this rule was rigidly observed. John Porter, the second dean, was one of the original canons. Peter Kelsey, third dean, had been a canon for eight years before his election: Brightewell, fourth dean, from 1382; William Chiselden, fifth dean, for twenty-one; Richard Elvet, sixth dean, for six. With the era during which the deanery became a perquisite of otherwise well beneficed clerks, who resided in it but little, a more formal observance of the statute came into use. William Walesby, seventh dean, qualified for his preferment in 1431 by obtaining presentation to the seventh stall, which he occupied for eleven days. The canon who obligingly resigned his stall to Walesby for this period was admitted, upon Walesby's institution to the deanery, to the twelfth stall, the previous occupant of the twelfth stall being transferred to the seventh. Similarly, in 1450, Thomas Redman quitted his stall in favour of Richard Andrew; and when, nineteen days later, Andrew was advanced to the deanery, Redman was re-instituted. Geoffrey Fairclough twice vacated the thirteenth stall for a few days, during which William Dudley, tenth dean, and William Chauntre, eleventh dean, qualified in it for the deanery. John Morgan, however, and his immediate successors appear to have been presented and admitted to the deanery at the will of the Crown, without regard to the statutory requirements of the case,[13] save that Robert Middleton in 1496 was admitted to a prebend a week before his admission as dean. It is possible, of course, that they may have been formally admitted to a canonry and prebend, and that this procedure may have been considered so entirely as a fiction that no record of it was kept. It is at any rate certain, from the visitation of 1525, that George Grey, who succeeded William Knight as eighteenth dean, was appointed by the Crown as patron, without a regular election and without

[13] For this and what goes before, see lists of deans and canons.

having previously obtained a canonry. Lord George Grey was a younger son of Thomas Grey, first marquess of Dorset and ninth lord Ferrers of Groby, and of Cicely Bonville. Little is known of him apart from his connexion with the college, which lasted for thirteen years (1517-30). Even the history of his preferments in the Church is obscure, and he was certainly not so well provided with prebends and dignities as might be expected.

Grey was admitted to the deanery on 7 June, 1517. Little more than a year later, on 10 August, 1518, bishop Atwater exercised his visitation as ordinary within the college. The report begins by noticing the non-observance of three statutes. Canons and vicars (see statutes 27, 28, in Russell's recension) were not present at service as they should be: on the Monday before, when the Gospel was being read at high mass, not a single prebendary was in the church. Women (see statute 84, B 94)[14] were received into the college without licence. In spite of statute 44,[15] the clergy of the college frequented taverns. The next *compertum* concerned the vicarage of Preston in Amounderness. Gilbert Bekensaw, prebendary of the fourth stall, had obtained the advowson of the vicarage under the common seal of the college, without the consent of any of the other prebendaries. Peter Gerrard, prebendary of the tenth stall, had been presented by the college to the same vicarage, and had surrendered his title and right to it for a consideration of forty marks.

The dean was not popular in the college. He had ordered Thomas Wigston, prebendary of the thirteenth stall, to act as his lieutenant in his absence, and met with refusal. He claimed an absolute right to grant presentations to benefices, to collate offices, and farm out the possessions of the college for the term of his life without the consent of the chapter. On the other hand he claimed that the chapter could do nothing without his own consent, and tried to impose his will upon them without regard to their inclinations. Thus, while the chapter had unanimously granted the farm of the rectory of Duffield to Thomas Babington, a special benefactor of the college and their particular friend, who had held the farm for many years past and had faithfully paid his rent, the dean opposed their will and wanted to make the grant to someone who was not a friend of the college. Wigston's refusal to act as lieutenant is explained by the complaint that the dean pretended that he could appoint any canon to this post,

14 Called 83 in the text of Atwater's visitation.

15 Called 45 in the original text.

which involved the cure of souls incumbent upon the dean's office during his absence, without rewarding him with any payment. If one of the canons was willing to act in this ungrateful capacity, the dean would not entrust his keys to him, and refused to obey or recognise any chapter acts which might be passed by the lieutenant and the chapter. He required that if, in his absence, any matter came before the lieutenant and chapter which needed deliberation, special messengers should be despatched to him for his authority and consent, and that meantime the chapter should await his answer. Against this the canons pleaded statute 33, which, however, is not explicit upon this special point.

Their general complaint against the dean was that he interpreted the statutes wrongly, against the intention of the founders and old custom which in their own estimation was laudable. They therefore begged the bishop to give a clear interpretation of the statute touching the recourse of women to the houses of the dean and other clergy, so far as it was binding upon the dean. With regard to the office of lieutenant they asked for a ruling upon the dean's right to compel its acceptance by his nominee, and to limit in his own absence the power of this official. They asked also that the statute regarding the dean's residence might be clearly explained, and that the dean should be enjoined to treat the canons properly and speak respectfully of them behind their backs, as he was bound to do by statute. An injunction was requested for the verger, requiring him to perform his duties better and demand no more than his salary.

With respect to the canons, an interpretation of three statutes was sought. These were statute 77,[16] in so far as it made it obligatory upon every canon to entertain a vicar, and statutes 27 and 28,[17] so far as they bound the canons to the same observance of the canonical hours as the vicars. Three breaches or misinterpretations of statute were reported of the vicars. They neglected their daily duty of saying three masses at the altar which was known as Symkyn altar, after its benefactor, Simon Symeon. Their method was to say themselves or get others to say two masses one day and four masses another at this altar, judging this to be sufficient. Although the vicars were present, according to statute, at the Lady mass, they refused to sing, affirming that their statutory presence was enough. The statutes further provided that there should always be one vicar appointed

16 Called 77 also in the original.

17 Called 29 and 30 in the original.

to celebrate the daily Lady mass and to say matins of our Lady with the choristers, under pain of forfeiting a penny. The vicars, however, refused to be present at matins with the choristers, and repudiated their obligation on the ground that they had never consented to the statute. If the vicars did not do their duty in every respect, they were defrauded, on the other hand, of the moiety of the stipend due to a vacant stall, which had been secured by statute 92 of Russell's recension.

Of two other *comperta* one concerned the choristers, who took their meals in Leicester and got no board from the canons. The other was that the rectory of Llandyfaelog was suffering from dilapidation and had lapsed to the collation of the bishop of St. David's, because the dean and canons had come to a deadlock over the presentation of a suitable person.[18]

Atwater's visitation was adjourned until some time before the feast of All Saints, 1518, but we hear no more about it. The next landmark in the history of the college is the visitation held by bishop Longland in 1525, of which a long and detailed record remains. Of this, with the subsequent history of the college, an account will be given in the remaining portion of this book, to which will be added a full list of the deans and canons and some details relating to the ecclesiastical property of the foundation.

[18] Atwater, Visitation MS, ff. 27, 28.

VIII.

BISHOP LONGLAND'S VISITATION, 1525

There is probably no more full or interesting account of a visitation of a religious establishment than the MS. volume of 92 leaves, preserved among the episcopal records at Lincoln, which contains the evidence presented to bishop Longland in 1525 by the members of the Newarke college. The late Mr. A. Gibbons, F.S.A., communicated some short notes upon this volume to the Leicestershire Archaeological Society in May, 1888;[1] but his paper did little more than call attention to the interrogatories presented to the dean and canons, and made no attempt to analyse the depositions of the several examinees. Since that date, the present writer has transcribed the book and prepared its text, a quaint medley of Latin and vivacious English, for publication in the series of visitation documents which he is editing for the Lincoln Record Society; and it is now possible, after a searching analysis of its contents, to present a coherent account of the circumstances which preceded the visitation and of the state of things which the bishop's examination disclosed.

To clear the way for the summary of the lengthy and involved evidence, the difficulties which had arisen in the college and called for reform may be briefly explained. Serious trouble had been caused by the residence within the precincts of Mary, lady Hungerford, and her second husband, sir Richard Sacheverell. Mention has already been made of lady Hungerford.[2] Born in 1466, she was the granddaughter of Robert, lord Hungerford and de Moleyns, who, faithful to the house of Lancaster, had been beheaded at Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1464, after the battle of Hexham. Her father, Thomas, was also true to the traditions of his family, and was executed in January, 1468-9. Mary, the only child of Thomas, succeeded to the barony of Botreaux upon the death of her great-grandmother in 1477-8. In 1481, she married sir Edward Hastings, the son of Edward IV's favourite, and in 1485, when her grandfather's attainder was reversed by Henry VII, she recovered her title to the baronies of Hungerford and de Moleyns. She thus transmitted her three baronies to her son George, who, in 1529, some four to five years

[1] See *Reports and Papers*, xix, 442-6.

[2] See above, pp. 118, 119.

before her death, was created earl of Huntingdon; and their names may be read upon the magnificent tomb of her grandson Francis, the second earl, in the Hastings chapel at Ashby-de-la-Zouch. Her interest in the college was of a two-fold kind. On the one hand, her father's family had been devotedly attached to the house of Lancaster, whose glories were commemorated in this, their chief religious foundation; while, on the other, the house of Hastings had come to the succour of its fortunes at a critical period. It was commonly reported in the college that from her early womanhood she had set her affections upon it and entertained the wish, which was eventually fulfilled, to be buried in the collegiate church. Her husband died in 1506. Five years later she married sir Richard Sacheverell of Ratcliffe-on-Soar, Notts., and in 1525 this couple, with a retinue of servants, were continually in residence within the precincts, attending the services of the church, extending patronage and friendship to several of the canons and vicars, and causing some annoyance to the dean.

To any dean who was not altogether subservient or regardless of his dignity, the presence of a wealthy patroness, whose interest in the college had begun at a much earlier date than his own, must have presented some embarrassment. Lord George Grey was not of a yielding temper, and the disclosures at Atwater's visitation had shewn that he was autocratic in his dealings with the canons. He was, moreover, of the same class in society as lady Hungerford. His mother, Cicely, marchioness of Dorset, was the step-daughter of William, lord Hastings, and therefore step-sister to lady Hungerford's first husband. Despite this connexion and the favour which the houses of Grey and Hastings alike owed to the house of York, there was a strong antagonism between the two families. The marriage of lord George's grandmother, Elizabeth Wydville, to Edward IV, had provoked the jealousy of William, lord Hastings, and had prompted his ill-fated adherence to the protector Gloucester in the revolution which overthrew the ascendency of the Greys at court. In Leicestershire, the neighbourhood of Ashby and Kirby Muxloe to Groby and Bradgate placed the Hastings influence in sharp contrast to that of the family of Grey. Thus the slight bond of relationship between lord George and lady Hungerford was not enough to soften his feelings to the daughter-in-law of the enemy and would-be supplanter of his house, while his own Yorkist traditions were opposed to the Lancastrian proclivities of the Hungerfords, which she openly displayed in her careful

adherence to a title inherited from the supporters of Henry VI and her somewhat ostentatious rejection of the name of Hastings.

Although in November, 1525, more than seven years had passed since Atwater's visitation, only two changes had taken place in the chapter meanwhile. Edward Burton, ninth prebendary, was senior canon in point of standing, having been admitted to his stall in August, 1501. Thomas Wigston, thirteenth prebendary, had been admitted in the following October, Seth Attercliffe, fifth prebendary, in 1501-2, Gilbert Bekensaw, fourth prebendary, in 1502. Then followed Peter Gerrard, tenth prebendary (1506), James Nicholson, third (1512), Henry Redyng, eighth (1514), and William Gillot, twelfth (1516). These were all senior to the dean (1517), and they all had been appointed by the Crown in right of the duchy of Lancaster. After 1517, however, the common custom had been followed of granting leases of presentations to stalls. Peter Swyllington, seventh prebendary (1517-8), had been presented by sir Edward Belknap and George Danett. In 1519 Richard Brokesby had been presented to the sixth stall by lady Hungerford's son, George, lord Hastings; and quite recently, in 1524, the dean's elder brother, the second marquess of Dorset, had presented John Whetwode to the second stall. Whether John Dale, eleventh prebendary, had been admitted before or after Grey's accession to the deanery, is not known. Thus, while the greater number of the chapter which in 1518 had shown some opposition to Grey still remained, it is clear that he could count upon the support of his brother's nominee, while Brokesby would be equally ready to take the part of lady Hungerford and sir Richard. It should be remembered that, while the dean was junior to many of the canons, he was not altogether a hot-headed youth. The date of his birth is not known, but it probably took place between 1485 and 1490, so that in 1525 he was between thirty-five and forty years old.

Longland's visitation was the sequel to a complaint brought by the dean before the privy council against lady Hungerford, Sacheverell, and their servants. The case had been heard in London, and the members of the college had presented their evidence, to which they made frequent reference in the course of the visitation. Nothing had come of it, and the bishop, as ordinary, now came to try the case and establish concord between the contending parties. On 27 November, 1525, Monday after the feast of St. Katherine, he opened his visitation in the chapter-house. The dean supplied him with a set of eighteen interro-

gatories to be administered to the canons, vicars, and other ministers; while the other parties presented a more formidable list of questions. He took the dean's interrogatories first, examining the canons, vicars, chantry-priests and other interested parties severally. One canon, Peter Gerrard, appears to have been absent, as his answers are not preserved in either of the paper books in which the evidence was taken down, or among the general *detecta* with which they are bound up. The dean's interrogatories will now be summarised, one by one, with the general tenor of the answers submitted. Such quotations as are given are presented in modernised spelling for the benefit of readers to whom the erratic orthography of the original might cause some difficulty. Those who are curious to see the document itself will have an opportunity of examining it in detail when the text is published.

1. Had Sacheverell's servants 'used any misdemeanours to the dean, his friends, lovers and servants within the college of Newarke?' The question was a general one, and most of the answers referred to details given in answer to later interrogatories, while one or two canons referred to their depositions already made before the privy council. Swyllington had heard speak of ill behaviour on the part of the servants, while Brokesby insinuated that the dean was his only authority to this effect. The vicars and chantry-priests were more communicative, and some passed an encomiun, not only upon the honest conversation of the serving-men, but upon lady Hungerford, who was a good and gracious lady, and Sacheverell, who was a kind lord to the ministers of the college. One vicar anticipated his answer to the sixth question. Another, John Butchard, had heard that there was generally dissension between the dean's and lady Hungerford's people, he knew not of whose fault. He had heard that at vespers on St. Andrew's day the serving-man of Singleton, the dean's chaplain, was walking about the church with a sword on, and, as he passed, knocked a servant of my lady's on the shins or between his legs; to which the servant said, 'Ye might walk further'.

This and another incident of St. Andrew's day were very thoroughly discussed in evidence supplied by various serving-men. John Bromfeld, Whetwode's serving-man, was going out of church at evensong on St. Andrew's day behind Chauncy, the dean's man. There met them three of lady Hungerford's people, coming in arm-in-arm and filling up the doorway. One of them, Lane, had the holy water 'strynkyll' in his hand. In order

to get out, Chauncy had to shoulder Lane: in fact, 'either of them shouldered other with all their strength', and, when Lane asked Chauncy why he shouldered him, Chauncy answered that he shouldered him not. 'And then Lane said he would wring him by the ears like a boy, and Chauncy said that Lane would not wring him by the ears, if they were but they twain. And then said another of my lady's servants that Lane would do it indeed'. Chauncy said that he was going out of church with Bromfeld and William Brown to drink at master Whetwode's, when four of my lady's servants came in arm-in-arm, 'and at the holy-water stock they stood all still, one of them casting holy water upon the other, and filled the space. And this deponent went betwixt the wall and Lane, and Lane hubbed him with his elbow when he was against him to the wall, and called him boy, and said he would shake him by the ears. And this deponent said to Lane again that such a knave as he is would neither shake him by the ears nor make him a boy if he were alone. And another of my lady's servants said that Lane would go near it'.

As for Lane, he was going into church with three of his fellows and met the three others. His account naturally was that Chauncy 'hubbed' him; and his expostulation had been, 'I might have gone long by an honest man or he would have done so; and, if thou hub me again, I will wring thee by the ears'. He could not tell what Chauncy said in reply. He had strict orders from his master and mistress to avoid meddling with the dean's servants, to do so would cost him his place.

Singleton's servant, by name Robert Thomlynson, said that he was walking up and down in the collegiate church on St. Andrew's day, saying his evensong, when Anthony Harcott, a servant of lady Hungerford, 'hubbed him that he went twice about', and said, 'Whoreson, I shall make thee walk further or in another place'. Thomlynson asked the by-standers to notice how my lady's servants were ordered. Someone said, 'Away, knave, away'. Thomlynson angrily threatened to tell the dean what had happened. 'Tell thy lord and thy lady both', sneered Harcott, 'I care not'. It is needless to say that Harcott transferred the guilt of 'hubbing' to his opponent, and represented himself in an amiable and Christian light. He had been saying our Lady's psalter: Thomlynson had hubbed him and, passing him again as he was turning round, threw his sword between his legs. The patient sufferer put Thomlynson 'from

him with his hand', saying, 'Good fellow, here is room enough both for thee and me'. When Thomlynson threatened to tell his lord, he answered, 'If thou tell not my lady, I care not'. Some of lady Hungerford's people were standing by: one of them, William Bramley, rebuked Thomlynson; 'Thou art to blame to hub him; thou might have walked there this seven year or he had begun to hub thee'. Thomlynson swore that he would walk there and ask them no leave, and used bad language to them all, being irritated by Bramley's taunt, 'Thou art more lewder, fellow'. It was the custom, said Harcott, for the dean's servants, as they walked in church, to rap the shins of himself and his fellows with their swords: there was no means of retaliation, as Sacheverell and lady Hungerford had threatened to dismiss any of their servants who ventured to take the law into their own hands.

2. Had not Sacheverell's servants 'made frays' in the college and maimed Robert Marshall, one of the vicars? This interrogatory was founded upon an event which had happened some years before, and there was some difference of opinion. Bekensaw had heard of a fight outside the college, but the vicar had not been maimed. Marshall, said Nicholson, was wounded in a fight with Sacheverell's servants, by whom or where he knew not. Dale agreed with Bekensaw: the fight was not in the college, and Sacheverell and his wife were not in Leicester at the time. Wigston had heard of a fight between two of Sacheverell's men in the precinct; their master had committed them to Leicester gaol, and Wigston himself had procured their release. Gillot said that Marshall was wounded outside the college: it was his own fault. Brokesby had been an eye-witness of the fray, which took place in the open space outside the gate-house. He was standing on one side of the street with Richard Neale. Marshall, who was standing upon the other side before the gate-house, drew his sword and came towards Neale, who, greeting him with, 'Art thou there? Then welcome!', joined battle with him. Then one Slory[3] came out of the Swan and struck at Marshall with his scabbarded sword, so that Marshall was hurt, but not maimed. Of the vicars, James Bromehall was of opinion that Marshall was to blame: he had been warned not

[3] In his last will Sacheverell directed his feoffees to hold the manor of Braunstone to the use of John Slory and the heirs of his body, or, in failure of such issue, of his sisters Elizabeth Nele and Jane Vyncent and the heirs of their bodies, with remainder to the use of the right heirs of their father Richard Slory. (P.C.C. 15 Hogen).

to go out of college. Moreover, he was an evil-doer, and had stolen a chalice and other property of the college. The only fight of which William Mosse had heard within the college was that mentioned by Wigston: Marshall had been wounded by his own fault outside the college at a time when lady Hungerford was not staying there. The rest added nothing new, but two vicars deposed that Marshall was a worthless fellow, who had taken a vicar's stipend without having any right to it. The only eye-witness of the fight, which had taken place some six or eight years before, apart from Brokesby, was Brown the porter, who had seen Marshall bleeding, and had heard that he was wounded by Sacheverell's servants. It was taken by the bishop as proved that Marshall was hurt outside the college by his own fault, when Sacheverell and lady Hungerford were out of Leicester; while the two men who had fought with one another about seven years back had been properly punished at the time.

3. Had Sacheverell's servants given the college porter 'opprobrious and unsetting words with sore threatenings of beating, hurting, and killing of him because he will not open the gates at unlawful hours in the night?' The canons knew nothing at first hand, but some had heard the porter complain. The vicars and chantry-priests were as ignorant. William Reade said that he had heard that the porter was something in his cups one night and had shut the gate upon Sacheverell's servants before the proper time. John Bromehall irrelevantly attacked the porter's character, while William Mosse complimented the serving-men upon their exemplary behaviour in college. The porter, John Brown, stated upon examination that one night Thomas Cawardyn wanted to go out of college after the gates were locked. He did not see Cawardyn, but various persons in in his house, including a kinsman of Cawardyn's, recognised the voice. Cawardyn reviled Brown for refusing to open the gates, but threatened to 'lay it upon his flesh tomorrow', and they called each other knave. At the same time, there was someone outside who wanted to get in, and threatened to meet the porter on the morrow. Who this was he could not tell, but thought it was a servant of Sacheverell. After this, he had been constantly worried by these gentlemen. One man called Hill had come to his door with another named Burdet, and accused him of saying, when lady Hungerford had gone away once, 'I pray God she never come again'. On the last day of November, two men had come to the gates and asked to be let in while the

porter was in bed. He asked them whose servants they were, and they answered 'My lord of Lincoln's', saying that they must speak with someone in the house. The serving-maid, who was told to let them in, obeyed, and it turned out that they were Sacheverell's men, Burdet and Sherard. Burdet was a nuisance: he had annoyed the porter's wife by offensive behaviour outside her door in the evening: when she scolded him, he called her 'callet', she answered with 'knave', and he retorted with 'whore'. The porter confessed that he was often afraid to come to church, and to open and shut the gates.

4. Did not a great number of Sacheverell's servants 'openly say they would helve the stocks asunder to have out one of the clerks of the said college, which was set there for his misrule done within the said college?' Did not George Villiers[4] offer and was about to pick the same lock? Nothing much was known of this incident. There was general agreement that a clerk named Thomas Wales had been put in the stocks by the dean, and that George Villiers had said something about having a key to pick the lock. Hugh Asheton, the choir-master, had told Wigston that Villiers said in jest, 'I trow I could pick such a lock, if need were', but, when Asheton said, 'I trow ye will not', he answered 'No, I am not so mad'. When Asheton himself was examined, he gave a more circumstantial story. Villiers had been to his house outside the college, and they were walking through the college gates together, when one said, 'Let us see Wales: he is in the stocks'. So they went into the gatehouse and found Wales there. Asheton sat down on a form, while Villiers went up to the locked end of the stocks, and, taking the hanging lock in his hand, fingered a little key which hung by his purse and said, 'I hold forty shillings that I could undo this lock with this key'. 'By God!' said Asheton, 'I trow that ye will not', to which Villiers replied, 'No, by the rood! ye shall not find me so mad'. Asheton testified that the words were spoken in jest, and meant nothing. William Harvy, a vicar, had this pleasant variation on Villiers' remarks: 'Thou shalt not sit here, whoreson; thou shall see me open the lock anon'; but Villiers was too wise to mean what he said. Thomas Cooper, a chantry-priest, had another story. He had heard say that Wales had not deserved the stocks, and that the dean's servant, Chauncy, was more to blame. Sacheverell's servants had said to Wales: 'Ye are within the

[4] Sacheverell in his will bequeathed to George Vyllars his lease of the parsonage of Melton Mowbray, presumably acquired from the prior and convent of Lewes.

college, therefore we will not meddle with you; but, an ye were without, we would help to have you out'. Wales himself had heard no one but Villiers say anything, when he was sitting in the stocks in the gatehouse kitchen. He admitted having himself asked the porter to put the stocks outside, 'for then I trust I shall not sit long here'. By this he explained himself to mean merely that, if he had been sitting outside, his friends or others would have tried to get him freed, and even the dean, while passing by, might have had compassion upon him.

5. Had Sacheverell obtained any grant outside the house under the chapter seal without the dean's consent? Burton, as the dean's lieutenant at the time, acknowledged that he and the chapter, in the dean's absence and without his consent, had granted Sacheverell the stewardship of Wollaston, in Northamptonshire, and the farm of a grange under the common seal, at the old fee and for the wonted rent. The dean's key of the seal had been entrusted to him: he had never heard before of a dean putting any restriction upon the lieutenant's conduct. It was true that the dean had threatened to revoke his commission as lieutenant, but he had never seen the deed of revocation, although it had been ordered to be drawn up. Others bore witness to these details. Dale said that, when the farm was granted to Sacheverell, the rent had not been well paid for some years past. Wigston, who had been lieutenant for four years at one time, had never heard of similar behaviour on the part of a dean. The opinion that the lieutenant and chapter could make such grants of custom in the dean's absence was practically unanimous.

6. Did Thomas Cawardyn, with other of Sacheverell's men, 'face the dean at his own stall within the choir door of the said college, laying hands on their swords and daggers, saying they would stand there without the dean his leave?' A great variety of detailed evidence was presented with regard to this alleged brawl, which took place at evensong on Relic Sunday, the feast of the Holy Trinity. Thomas Cawardyn and others were standing about the door of the choir screen during the Magnificat. Some said that they were there for the sake of devotion, but the dean thought that they were standing there, within view of his stall, which was on the right-hand of the entrance to the choir, to provoke him, and created a scene in consequence. Whetwode, whose stall was opposite the dean's, said that they refused to leave the choir doorway when the dean bade them, but that they

went when bidden, at the dean's orders, by master Dale. More of lady Hungerford's servants, however, came up and stood their ground after some altercation with the dean, who then called Whetwode and Dale to him, and all three went to speak to lady Hungerford, who was worshipping in a chapel near the choir. Whetwode's story was that, when the dean complained, she retorted 'Look well to your own servants, for they keep naughty rule', adding comments on the misbehaviour of lord Dorset's servants, who made it impossible for a woman to walk in the Frith or the forest. Dale, who belonged to the opposite faction, gave a different account. After censing the high altar at the Magnificat, he, as officiant, was appealed to by the dean, who said, 'Master Dale, I pray you have these fellows away: they stand here facing and bracing'. On obeying, he found Cawardyn standing 'leaning on the porch-side, saying his evensong', and ready to move away when he was told. One Wilmer, who stood behind Cawardyn, said before leaving the choir door that they were there, 'neither to face nor brace, but to serve God as other men do'. Then a gentleman named John Haryngton came and stood in the choir-porch; whereupon the dean called Dale and Whetwode and went with them to lady Hungerford. He asked her, 'Madam, is this a fair rule that your servants shall come into the choir, and face and brace?'; to which she answered that she had 'seen men come into the king's chapel and other great chapels, and no matter made of it', adding 'and as well may they do this, as you to be from service hunting and come home at midnight'. Although Whetwode and Dale gave different reports of this answer, it is obvious that lady Hungerford was annoyed and did not refrain from irrelevant personal remarks. Of the numerous eye-witnesses, Thomas Wigston had seen Haryngton standing with a book in his hand, apparently saying his prayers: there were several others standing there, as was usual. William Gillot said that it was the custom for lay-folk and serving-men to stand in the porch during service, and that some of the dean's servants and other outsiders were there as well as the persons objected to. So also said Richard Brokesby and others. John Bromehall, whose evidence was tinged with malice, thought 'fastly that, if they had been any other men's servants than master Sacheverell's, the dean would not have spoken to them for standing there'. The dean, said Thomas Hurderon, another vicar, could not have seen Cawardyn, who was saying his prayers, without stooping his head to look at him: Cawardyn was not so near the choir as many other people whom he had seen there on many

occasions. Hurderon, when the dean spoke to Cawardyn, overheard Wigston say 'Jesus! that a man may not say his prayers, but if he must be thus spoken unto!' The general evidence differed only on slight points, and there was no complaint that the serving-men had used menace with swords and daggers, although the bishop's finding was that they had stood at the choir-door with swords and bucklers, and would not go back at the dean's bidding. There was so much general prejudice against the dean that one is inclined to believe that Cawardyn and his friends used their devotions as a cloak for provocation. The dean at any rate lost his temper and laid himself open to the stinging retorts which lady Hungerford was not slow to give.

7. Did one Clerk, 'daily nourished in the house of the said Sacheverell', strike Chauncy on the head with a dagger, and were not a dozen of Sacheverell's servants there to take his part? Whetwode had seen Chauncy's head where it was hit: it did not bleed. Chauncy had told him that Clerk had struck him; but Sacheverell's servants were said to have rebuked Clerk. Chauncy had told Swyllington that one Long and other servants of lady Hungerford tried to keep peace, but took no part in the strife. Clerk, said Dale, was not one of Sacheverell's serving men. The fight took place outside the college: Dale had been called in by the dean and had seen Chauncey's head; it was not broken, but Chauncy had complained that 'he had a plump on his head as much as a walnut'. Dale and Wigston gave the name of a witness, John Sadler; while Brokesby suggested that Foljambe, the king's constable, who, as Harvy, one of the vicars, said, had separated them, should be called to give evidence. Richard Sutton, vicar, saw Chauncy when he came to the dean and complained that 'he was hurt by one Clerk with a dagger pommel, and shewed a knob upon his forehead'. Hurderon reported that Chauncy, when struck, said, 'May I not be sent on my master his errand, except I be thus dealt withal'. Whereupon Long said to him, 'Go your way: there shall no man do you harm'. Thomas Rigmayden had seen Chauncy slightly hurt on his forehead, having 'a knoyll upon his brow as big as a hazel-nut'. Long and Villiers were said to have stopped the squabble. The 'knoyll' was described by Richard Hardgrave as almost the size of a crab-apple. All that could be definitely proved out of the various versions of the story was that Clerk smote Chauncy upon the head. The witness of Sadler and Foljambe, if it was admitted, has not survived.

8. Did not Sacheverell's servants lately chase Walter Snednall, or Snydall, servant to the dean, in the college by night? Dale had heard the story from Burton, who was now content to refer to the depositions which he had made before the privy council. Afterwards Dale had talked with Sherard, one of lady Hungerford's men. It appeared that Sherard and another man were talking together, when Snydall came up and thrust them from the wall. The usual clumsy taunts followed, Snydall answering to Sherard's, 'Thou mayest take a knave with thee', 'I leave him with thee'. Then Sherard drew his sword and Snydall ran away, but Sherard did not follow him. This was Sherard's story, but opinion was somewhat divided, as Wigston and two of the inferior clergy admitted, and several people knew nothing about it. Rigmayden had seen Snydall by the dean's door, with people standing by and asking him what was the matter, and Snydall answering that he was in peril of his life, because he had seen swords unsheathed against him. Hardgrave was walking in the cloister, when he saw Snydall running, first to the dean's house, then to Burton's. According to Wilson, a chantry-priest, Snydall had told the dean, without specifying names, that he was 'frayed and chased with men'. A clerk named Potterton had 'met Snydall running, and he heard folks and saw a glimmering of them; but he saith he saw no sword nor dagger drawn, nor no man running after Snydall'. Sherard's companion, Robert Vernam, servant to master Richard Parker, deposed that some six weeks back he and Sherard were standing near the long wall inside the college gates. A servant of the dean's passed by without word or salutation, to whom Sherard said, 'Thou might have bidden us good even if thou wouldest'. The answer which he got was, 'I have bidden as good a knave as thou good even or this'—at any rate, words to this effect, of which 'knave' was one. Sherard then drew out his sword and ran after Snydall to the corner of the wall. This was all that Vernam had seen; but Robert Orton, bailiff of Leicester, said that Vernam had hung upon Sherard's arm, 'or else the said Sherard had done Snydall a shrewd turn'.

9. Did not Snydall complain to Burton, the dean's lieutenant; and was not Burton afraid to leave his house to make inquiry because of Sacheverell's servants? There was little positive knowledge on this point. Burton had said that Snydall had complained to him. Whether Burton went in fear of his life was doubted. Dale said that he did no such thing. Rigmayden's story was, however, that Burton had said to Snydall, 'Seeing ye

have no harm, the matter may rest till to-morrow', which may have been either cowardice or carelessness. Burton again referred to his depositions before the privy council.

10. Had Sacheverell and lady Hungerford sold any land to the college? What did they get for it? What was the name of the lordship, and how much was it worth? Bekensaw said that they sold the lordship of Ashley in Wiltshire, for which the college paid £400: its annual value would appear from the provost's book. Burton said that lady Hungerford had given the college £20 out of the purchase-money: Ashley was worth from £17 to £19 a year. Whetwode did not think the lordship was worth more than £16. The £20 which had been remitted was said by Swyllington to be appropriated to lady Hungerford's obit. Nicholson rated the value of Ashley at £19, or more than £20 gross. Dale added that lady Hungerford had given £3 to the three canons present at the purchase. Ashley, he said, was worth £19 a year. Master Thame had said that twenty-six years' purchase had been given for Ashley, and twenty years' purchase for the lordship of Bampton; and Sacheverell and lady Hungerford had given them the choice of either. Wigston stated that, before purchase, the provost and William Bolte had surveyed Ashley and rated it at £20 a year: it had been bought at twenty years' purchase on what Wigston believed to be profitable terms. Brokesby's valuation of the lordship was £18 net. There was no doubt about the price paid, although some were ignorant of it; and Wigston's evidence contained what was clearly the truth about the sale.

11. Did Sacheverell occupy the bede-house barn as a stable, and lodge his servants in rooms within the college? If so, how long had he occupied such rooms, and what had he paid for them to the profit of the house? It was obvious that he used the buildings in question. As to his payments, most of the canons appealed to the provost's account-book. Nicholson, sometime provost, said he had granted the bede-house barn to Sacheverell, in keeping with the custom by which the provosts made such small grants without the chapter's consent. Sacheverell had promised to pay what the chapter thought fit. Nicholson, Burton and Dale also used the bede-house barn for their hay and horses. The two little rooms which Sacheverell had in the college had previously been let to the bishop's commissary, John Silvester, who was thought to have sub-let them to Sacheverell. The yearly rent to the college from them was five shillings. Dale said that,

while he, Burton and Nicholson paid nothing for using the barn, Sacheverell was content to pay rent. The barn was said by Gillot to have been used ordinarily by the provosts. It seemed to be recognised that it was at the provost's disposal.

12. What great gifts had been given at Christmas and at other times to Sacheverell, lady Hungerford and their friends? Whetwode had heard of two cygnets. They had once, Swyllington said, given Sacheverell two cygnets: when great folk came to Leicester, they gave them wine. Wigston said they had given wine or something eatable to the earl of Shrewsbury, master Burgoyn the king's auditor and others as a gratuity. Wine or cygnets, Brokesby said, were the alternative: cygnets such as they sometimes gave Sacheverell had been given to other strangers. Redyng said that they sometimes gave them and other noble visitors wine and capons, or such-like things. Nicholson dated the swans as Christmas presents, and Attercliffe said specially that no money had been given. Bromehall had heard that lady Hungerford had given gifts to the college, but knew of nothing given her in return.

13. Were not Sacheverell and his wife in the habit of holding bear-baitings or May-games and common spectacles, which priests ought not to attend, in the college? Bear-baitings sometimes, said Bekensaw; but May-games, Robin Hood and St. George would come into college, whether lady Hungerford were there or not. Such things were customary. Nicholson told how the parishioners of St. Margaret's would come to lady Hungerford with their twelve pageants and get a subscription for their church. The May-games, said Redyng, were for the profit of the parish churches. Butchard, a vicar, had seen pageants, St. George, the Months, and so on, and public processions in college. Rigmayden had seen bear-baitings twice and Robin Hood, and had heard stage-plays. Harvy had seen two or three bear-baitings there; and other ostensions, as ridings of St. George, riding of the Months and Robin Hood are used to be done yearly for the wealth of the churches and for that purpose they come'. Three vicars and a chantry-priest testified, like Bekensaw, that the 'ostensions' came without regard to lady Hungerford's presence or absence; but it seems likely that the bear-baitings, which are not said to have had any ecclesiastical end in view, were arranged for her benefit or her husband's. Such things were said by two chantry-priests to have been done before her door.

14. Did not their dogs, hawks and hounds come daily into church 'to the great annoyance of the same', defiling it 'shamefully, and barking and crying out when men be at divine service?' This was so, Bekensaw admitted, but it was true also of the canons' and vicars' hounds. Sacheverell had said to Dale 'he would be contented that they were beat out'. Whosesoever the hounds were, said Wigston, they were whipped out indifferently. Redyng averred that they kept a dog-whip. Every one of the canons testified to the fact that the habit was not peculiar to Sacheverell's and lady Hungerford's hounds and hawks. When the vicars were examined, Bromehall asserted that hounds belonging to the ministers of the church did more harm. Dog-whips, said Butchard, were used to whip them out of choir. Harvy had heard no barking or crying, 'but he saith they come into the church as other dogs do, and hawks likewise'. The chantry-priests complained of the mess they made in the church. Sacheverell's hounds, said Thomas Cooper, which sometimes defiled the church, did not come into choir—whether out of instinctive reverence or under compulsion he did not say—but the hounds of the dean and his servants did not only come to church, but sometimes defiled the Lady chapel. They did much damage, according to John Bruar, and disturbed divine service; but he did not know whose they were.

15. What great good deeds and benefits had lady Hungerford and Sacheverell done to the college? Bekensaw gave a catalogue of the lady's good deeds. She had procured £80 for the college from master Walter Barbour, which otherwise would not have been obtained. He had heard that she had obtained a house at the college gate for a seventh chorister. She had lately given 'a goodly sudary of silk' to the high altar, £10 for the whitewashing of the church, and 20s. for the whitewashing of the chancel. This year only had she omitted to give a buck and half a mark to the canons to make merry with. While, as for Sacheverell, he and his friends in the last parliament had obtained the exemption of the college from tenths. Swyllington added a gift of money from lady Hungerford 'that the Sepulchre light might burn all the holy days'. Nicholson and others remembered that Sacheverell had laboured to procure the appropriation of Hanslope church in Buckinghamshire to the the college—a matter which was never accomplished. Dale recalled the remission of £20 from the purchase-price of Ashley. Wigston did not recollect any great benefits; but the oblations increased on account of their stay in

college. Gillot said that, between them, they had paid for the whitewashing of the whole church. He also mentioned that lord Hastings had procured a licence from the king for obtaining choristers from a wider area, with the exception of certain places. 'Master Sacheverell and lady Hungerford', said Redyng, 'are always ready and willing to do good to the college in all things needful'. Attercliffe, like Wigston, did not remember any such benefactions. Sutton, the dean's vicar, remembered nothing but the sudary. Richard Smyth and others mentioned lady Hungerford's obit: Mosse and Liderland said that she was always good and benevolent to the ministers of the church and college. All the ministers, said Butchard, were bound to pray for her and her husband, inasmuch as they were well-wishing and kind to the ministers, especially in time of sickness; when they sent them things wholesome and necessary for their health. Hardgrave shared Attercliffe's forgetfulness. Harvy said that Sacheverell was a stand-by in business matters. In health or in sickness, said Reade, they were altogether gracious to the ministers of the church. John Dalderby, the bearer of a name long hallowed in the diocese, had heard say that lady Hungerford intended to found a chantry of two priests in the college. John Williamson, chantry-priest, said that she had given 'a certain goodly cloth of silk for the paten or for the cross, and a table[5] at the founder's altar, and she is ever kind and favourable to them that belongeth to the college'. The other chantry-priests laid stress upon her goodness to the poor folk in the bede-house and in Leicester generally.

16. Did Sacheverell ever labour (*i.e.*, exert himself) for any farm belonging to the college? This interrogatory was really subsidiary to the last, and had been partly answered in the case of the fifth article, which Burton, Swyllington and others either repeated or alluded to. Sacheverell, Nicholson said, had their grange near Leicester to farm at the old accustomed rent, and paid it regularly; whereas the last farmer was still deep in their debt. The vicars and chantry-priests were not examined upon this or the next article, which did not concern them. This also applied to the tenth or twelfth articles, to which, however, one or two returned answers.

17. Would any fine have been given for any farm obtained by Sacheverell? The answer was simple. No fine had ever been offered or given for the farm of the grange. Whetwode,

[5] *I.e.*, a reredos.

indeed, lifted up his voice to say that he had heard from Burton that they might have had a fine for it; but Sacheverell held it without a fine. No-one, thought Redyng, would have been likely to give a fine for it: he only hoped that the old rent would be paid in full. Attercliffe said that the rent was so high that few people wanted to have the farm.

18. Lastly, had Sacheverell meddled with the canons in any elections? Had he given them counsel on chapter business? Had any of the chapter taken his counsel with regard to anything concerning the dean or any of the college? Burton had his suspicions. Bekensaw had consulted Sacheverell once about a quarrel with Butchard, but Sacheverell had told him that he would not intermeddle. Swyllington had information from uncertain sources that lady Hungerford had had a finger in certain elections. Nicholson had a story curiously different from Bekensaw's denial of any knowledge of the first and second parts of the question. Sometimes Sacheverell spoke on behalf of some friend, if he thought him fit for an office. He often counselled people for the profit of the college: the canons asked his advice upon college business, but he remembered no special instance in which Sacheverell had been invited to give advice touching any member of the college, although he believed that this part of the article was generally true. Dale said that the furthest point reached by his intermeddling was that he sometimes named people as suitable for certain posts. Wigston knew nothing with regard to any part of the article. Gillot felt some uncertainty about the first part. To Brokesby the whole truth of the matter was that they sometimes asked Sacheverell's advice on behalf of the common business of the college and for its profit. Attercliffe instanced the attempt to obtain the appropriation of Hanslope church, in which his help had been requested. The vicars knew little about it, but Harvy had heard Wigston make a remark that, while the provost said that 'he would no more of his office', he nevertheless 'made means to have friends to have it still', which might be taken to mean that Sacheverell and the provost were in league.

In the face of considerable hostility, the dean made good certain points in his interrogatories. Much remained obscure, and many of the canons shewed remarkable ambiguity upon points of which they must have been tolerably certain; but, as has been mentioned already, the bishop concluded that Whetwode's evidence, for example, proved that Sacheverell's servants had

provoked a disturbance on Trinity Sunday, so far as could be done by standing at the choir-door with swords and bucklers and refusing to go back at the dean's bidding. But, before any conclusion can be reached, it is necessary to examine the articles presented to the dean and canons on the following day.

Sir Richard Sacheverell and lady Hungerford presented thirty-nine interrogatories for the consideration of the dean and canons. These and the answers to them are also preserved in detail. They were drawn up more adroitly than the dean's interrogatories, and the answers afford a still more accurate guide to the character and feelings of the several members of the college than the previous set of responses. The dean's answers in particular, submitted in writing and reported at length in English, are an amusing example of petulance and offended dignity. Questions and answers are again summarised here, so as to give a general idea of the direction in which the evidence tended, with such quotations as are worth presenting in full.

1. Had the dean's lieutenant and the chapter authority to grant offices and leases by the chapter seal in the dean's absence? Wigston and Bekensaw answered in the affirmative, Wigston regarding such authority as a necessary consequence of the appointment of a lieutenant, and adding that he had never heard of any restriction being put upon the lieutenant until after such grants had been made to Sacheverell. Seven out of the nine remaining canons deposed that such grants were customary, without asserting the lieutenant's authority, which Gillot, however, said that they had always taken for granted. Whetwode would not commit himself. Burton, who had been lieutenant at the critical period when the grants to Sacheverell were drawn up, believed that the lieutenant and chapter had the power, and his first experience of the opposite theory was when he heard the dean say that he would make a revocation of his licence to the lieutenant. This, he had been told by the scrivener within the last three days, had actually been done. The dean bore out this statement. Once he had given Burton a general proxy to be his lieutenant, but had afterwards revoked it in the presence of two vicars of the college and the scrivener Byllars[6] 'thinking that some prejudice might fall to him by the reason of giving out so general authority'.

[6] A form of the well-known Leicestershire surname of Beler or Bellars, modernised as Bellairs.

2. Had the chapter granted anything to Sacheverell beyond a stewardship with the old fee of 26s. 8d., which had been received by lord Vaux, its previous holder, and a farm of which the old rent was reserved? Nine canons were unanimous in saying no. Whetwode alone said yes. Burton made an exception in the case of the negotiations about the sale of Ashley. The dean made the same exception: an obit for lady Hungerford 'was craftily conveyed by sale of land', as was shewn by an indenture the purport of which he explained.

3. Had Sacheverell and his wife procured anything from the college under seal, contrary to good order, charity and conscience, or not? Whetwode, alone of the canons, preferred not to answer. The others agreed in answering 'Nothing'. Burton, indeed, hinted that 'it is thought that is against conscience, that so much money was paid for the lordship of Ashley'. Wigston, on the other hand, said that, if their leases 'were to let again, he knoweth not where they might be better letten'. The dean, however, said that the leases and the obit 'were obtained and gotten without the dean his consent, contrary to all conscience, good order, and charity of neighbourhood, considering the goodwill of the dean was never asked, he being a gentleman of right good blood, and the king's poor kinsman, and allied to the lady Hungerford, and, as she sayeth, her kinsman'. His injured pride was further expressed in a codicil to this somewhat rambling answer: 'Also in this the dean thinketh he is not so simple[7] but it might withstand to the lady Hungerford's honour and Sacheverell's honesty once for to be demanded the goodwill and consent of the dean either by mouth or by writing'.

4. Was there any malice between the dean and Sacheverell before the dean presented his bill of complaint before the privy council? No-one knew of any. Bekensaw professed himself sorry that there was any. Redyng thought that the beginning of the business was when lord Dorset exchanged some land near Leicester with the Crown. Not only, said Brokesby, was there no ill-feeling between them, but there was the most cordial friendship: he had heard the dean say in lady Hungerford's house, 'This love shall never be broken betwixt us, except the devil break it'. The sequel of these amenities had already been related by the dean to the privy council, and he now referred himself to his depositions on that occasion.

[7] *I.e.*, simple as opposed to gentle.

5. Had any of Sacheverell's servants hindered divine service in the college or not? Answers to this question had already been given in full, and, while five canons answered no, four referred themselves to their depositions in answer to the dean and before the privy council. Gillot did not know. Swyllington, not an illuminative witness, mentioned the 'little business' on Relic Sunday, but said that 'there was no service stopped'. The dean appealed to the evidence previously given by the college in this connexion.

6. Were the statutes of the college broken and misused by the dean or his servants? This question was preliminary to Nos. 7—25, and the dean rightly observed that it was 'general and not to be answered unto'. Only two canons, Bekensaw and Dale, gave a general affirmative, and Dale said merely that he believed the dean had broken the statutes. The rest did not know or preferred to answer in detail to the question which followed.

7. Was the dean sworn at his admission to keep the statutes or not? Attercliffe did not know. Whetwode and Redyng were doubtful, but believed that he ought to have been sworn. Swyllington believed that either he or his proctor was sworn: Wigston and Dale stated the same as a fact. Gillot believed that his proctor was sworn: Brokesby had heard so: Nicholson said so definitely. Bekensaw, ready with positive information, said that the dean ought to be sworn, but that Burton took the oath as his proctor. Burton acknowledged that he had been sworn and installed, believing that his proxy was sufficient. The dean admitted the installation by proxy, but he had given his proctor no special mandate to take an oath on peril of the dean's soul. He could not tell whether his proctor was sworn or to what, but he was 'well assured that he standeth in no jeopardy of the said oath, considering he gave his proctor no special commandment, and in this matter he referreth him to them that be learned in the law'.

8 and 9. Was the dean sworn at his admission to pay ten marks within half a year for the necessaries of the church, according to the statutes? If so, had the money been paid? The dean agreed that there was such a statute, which was the opinion of eight of the canons and was tacitly admitted by the rest, Redyng alone stating merely that he thought there was one. The dean, however, maintained that he was not sworn to pay, and Whetwode repeated the dean's assertion that he was never sworn

to the statutes. Wigston was doubtful: Gillot believed and Bekensaw affirmed that the proctor was sworn. Burton, the ultimate authority, believed that he himself swore as proctor. As to the payment, the dean affirmed it. None of the others supported this statement. Bekensaw, Dale and Brokesby denied it. Gillot, Attercliffe and Wigston gave a more cautious denial; while Burton thought that payment had been excused. The other four did not know, Whetwode explaining that it was before his time.

10 and 11. Was there any statute that, if the dean were absent from the college for more than five calendar months in the year, he was to receive no more than 40s. from the provost? Had the dean, during such absence, received more? All were agreed as to the statute, Swyllington being the only one who stated a mere belief in its existence. Yes, said the dean, there was such a statute, but he was never sworn to it, 'and, albeit he were, the dean forceth not thereof, for he hath bulls to shew for him to discharge him of any such oath'. Whatever he had received above the 40s. was paid him by the provost at the instance of the canons, and, if such extra payments incurred the penalty of perjury, as being against the statutes, then the canons, who were sworn, and not he, who was not, were the responsible persons. The canons did not deny their assent. That a payment of £20 over and above the 40s. was customary was suggested by Whetwode, who had heard that dean Morgan said that he had received this sum. Wigston said that the dean had been paid £20 a year before a composition was effected between him and the chapter. This composition, according to Attercliffe, secured him his £20 permanently, and Wigston added that the chapter gave him £40—*i.e.*, a *douceur* of £20 in addition to a year's pay —for putting his hand to it. All the rest agreed in various terms that he had received more than the statutory 40s., Swyllington making special mention of the composition. Bekensaw's answer, animated as usual by a reckless desire to injure the dean at the expense of minute accuracy, was that he had received a great quantity of money.

12. Was there an act of chapter made by consent of the ordinary and the dean that the dean should have £20 yearly? Had the dean received any money or profits above this sum, contrary to the act? All assented to the act, the composition already referred to, which, Bekensaw said, had been sealed by bishop Atwater. The dean prayed that the act might be broken as being

unlawful. Five canons deposed that he had received, in addition to the £20, hay, provender for his horses, fuel and the money from the town obits. This, omitting the obits, was stated also by Attercliffe. Nicholson mentioned only the extra £20 given to the dean for his assent. Whetwode believed that the act had been made, but did not know about additional payments. Bekensaw, Dale and Swyllington gave a general affirmative to the whole article. The dean avoided the clause about additional money or profits.

13. The next question, which touched a leading grievance of the canons, consisted of three articles. Was there any statute that the precentor might be elected by the dean and a minority? If there was not, had the dean elected a precentor with the support of a minority? And what was his demeanour at the election? The dean gave no detailed answer: he was ready to prove that he had done nothing but what he lawfully might do. There was, of course, no such statute, as nine canons answered positively. Nicholson knew of none: Whetwode referred himself to the statutes. Nor had the dean actually elected a precentor against the will of the majority, the fact being, according to Wigston, Bekensaw, Redyng and Brokesby, that he had tried to do so but had failed. Gillot, to whose election the dean had objected, told the story thus. The dean had declared him entirely incapable of the office and put off the election. He had sent for Gillot and interviewed him in the deanery garden, where he said, 'I would vise you leave off your hands off the office. If ye will not, I will bring you before my lord of Lincoln, and, if I cannot obtain my purpose, I trust my lord will leave me at such liberty as to bring you before my lord cardinal (*i.e.*, Wolsey) or his counsel'. After which he endeavoured to intimidate Burton by a letter, in which he expressed his rooted opposition to the election once and for all.

Whetwode had been the dean's candidate for the office. His evidence was that, when the election took place, the dean said, 'This is the first at my being at any election, and my desire is to have master Whetwode chanter, and of my conscience I think him most meet for it'. The majority answered, 'We have granted our votes already, and we will not change', whereto the dean replied, 'I will see whether the statute will bear you or me, and shew it to my lord of Lincoln'. Nicholson said that the dean spoke unbecomingly; Burton, that he was rough in his words with the canons; Swyllington, that he spoke hastily to Bekensaw and

Dale. Wigston alleged that he had called one canon 'false churl', another 'false', a third 'false perjured man', and Wigston himself 'false priest'. On these terms the other canons rang changes. Attercliffe said that he had spoken words of abuse, calling some of them churls, and saying that Gillot was ineligible and should not have the office, whether he were elected or no. Bekensaw said that the words 'false priest' had been applied to himself: the dean had scolded all the others who opposed him. 'False churl' was appropriated by Dale as his own special compliment: the dean had called Bekensaw a perjurer, with other threatening words. His demeanour at the election, said Brokesby, was furious and harsh: he had uttered many words to the canons, calling Bekensaw 'false perjured priest', Dale 'false churl', Wigston 'false priest', and Brokesby 'lewd priest', or words to that effect.

While the dean answered Sacheverell's interrogatory with haughty brevity, he gave a fuller account of the matter in the *detecta* with which he furnished the bishop. Eight of the canons, egged on by Bekensaw, Brokesby and Dale, were in league against him, the others being Nicholson, Redyng, Attercliffe, Gerrard and Wigston. They were systematically disobedient, and were always conspiring secretly against the dean and the profit of the college, incurring thereby the guilt of perjury against the statutes. Gillot had been ready to resign the precentorship, but Wigston, Brokesby and Bekensaw had urged him to keep it, and so had brought about a quarrel to the utmost scandal of the house.

The *detecta* of the canons were to the effect that the dean habitually used intemporate language. Dale added to the 'false churl' incident that the dean had told him 'that he knew him well enough, and that he was ever against him', that he had similarly scolded Wigston and Brokesby and had done the same at other times. Wigston knew of no cause for the quarrel between the dean and canons, apart from the dean's desire to control the votes of the chapter on all occasions and to make them obey him in all matters lawful and honest. Gillot accused the dean of transgressing the statutes in this endeavour and in his habitual use of rough words in chapter. Brokesby, in his *detecta*, quoted the substance of the dean's words at the election of the precentor with more detail. He had said to Bekensaw, 'I will give no credence to thy words, but I will suspend thy voice, for thou art a false perjured priest'; to Dale, 'Thou art a false churl: I

remember the words that thou spakest when the Welshmen[8] were in thy house'; to Gillot, 'Set your heart at rest, for ye be not able to be chanter, nor ye shall not be'. 'And likewise', Brokesby added, 'he doeth for the most part in every chapter, so that many of the canons dare not speak their minds in chapter for such minatory words'. Sometimes the dean imposed silence upon the canons in chapter under pain of disobedience. Bekensaw gave some extension to the dean's vocabulary of abuse: Bekensaw himself had been called 'great-necked churl', Dale 'great-headed churl', Wigston 'churl', and Dale 'fool', and Brokesby had been threatened with the deprivation of his prebend.

14. Was there a statute empowering the dean and chapter to grant or sell any rent charge in fee simple or any annuity out of their lands and tenements temporal or spiritual, other than to their learned counsel for term of life or to their officers? The dean supposed that there was. Attercliffe and Brokesby did not know. Nicholson and Gillot gave a direct negative: four thought there was not, Redyng adding the rider that they had no power to sell a corrody. The three others referred to the statutes.

15. Had the dean procured any such grant or sale of a corrody or annuity to the hindrance of the college or not? He denied that he had done anything against the wealth of the college, and Wigston thought the same. Whetwode and Attercliffe did not know. But, as in the case of the election of the precentor, the dean was said to have made an attempt and failed: Burton said that he thought that he had done nothing to the disadvantage of the house, as his motion had not taken effect. This, as six agreed, was a proposal to sell Gerrard a chantry worth £4 6s. 8d. a year for a lump sum of £120, which the chapter negatived by a majority. Bekensaw and Dale agreed that the dean had been angry, and Brokesby repeated his words: 'If you refuse, it is rather from malice of heart than for the profit of the college'. According to Brokesby and Dale, the actual value of the chantry was £4 10s., so that Gerrard's offer amounted to about twenty-seven years' purchase, which was a handsome allowance for the tenure of a prebend in the college. As Gerrard had been a canon for nearly eleven years before the dean came, it is probable that the dean's annoyance was justified and that the canons' refusal to infringe the statutes was more pedantic than conscientious. What the canons felt when Gerrard died in 1528 is not on record.

[8] This allusion is not explained, but it may refer to the negotiations about the presentation to Llandyfaelog. See above, p. 142, and p. 213 below.

Brokesby, however, on the present occasion, thought upon his conscience that such a grant would have been to the damage of the college. It was upon the refusal of the chapter, added Brokesby in his *detecta,* that the dean had declared his intention of complaining to the king and privy council.

16 and 17. Was it lawful for every canon to speak his mind freely in chapter for the wealth of the college without being controlled by the dean? Had the dean hindered them by threats and malicious words, or imposed a silence upon them, so that they dared not speak or shew their minds as they were bound to do, or not? All answered that it was lawful, three referring definitely to the statutes, and Brokesby in addition mentioning the bishop's mandate of installation, which conferred upon each a stall in choir and voice in chapter. The dean said that it was not lawful for the canons to speak against the wealth of the house. He had never controlled them when they spoke for its good, 'but he hath controlled them divers times for speaking against the profit of the house, for their jangling in the chapter-house is against all order and reason. And for this the dean hath only put them to silence divers times, as he may well justify by the law'.

The second of these interrogatories invited merely the general application of a single incident already related, and it has been shewn that the *detecta* afforded testimony to the dean's command of abusive language. Whetwode answered on the dean's side, confessing only to hot reasonings on both parts. Nicholson said that the dean's behaviour varied: sometimes he let them speak, at others he was sharper with them. Gillot related that he had threatened at times to silence his opponents, and once had warned Dale that he would thrust him out of the chapter-house; to which Dale had answered, 'I trust ye shall never see that day'. Dale merely said that he had been present when the dean used hasty words. Wigston complained that the dean was so hasty that he himself had been afraid to speak his mind, and had asked the lieutenant that they might have use of their free voices, 'else it booted them not to speak'. He had heard Dale say openly to the dean, 'Except we may have leave to speak our minds, we will speak no more'. Attercliffe repeated that the dean had called Bekensaw and Wigston 'false priests' or other like words, and 'he thinketh that the company refraineth themself of saying their minds for inquieting of the dean'. Hard and rough, said Burton, a judicious and credible witness, were the words that

the dean used: he had said, 'Speak as ye should do for the wealth of the college, and I am well contented to hear you; and else I will not hear you'. Brokesby, as usual, had his quotation ready: he had spoken against the grant of the chantry to Gerrard and had been silenced by the dean with the words, 'that if this deponent would not hold his peace, he would shew it to the king and his council'. Bekensaw and Redyng gave simple affirmatives to the question. Swyllington mentioned the dean's hasty words.

18. Was there any statute or grant that the dean and chapter should have five bucks and ten does yearly out of the chase of Leicester? Swyllington thought so: the rest answered yes, Whetwode, Gillot and Wigston specifying the grant as made by the founder and confirmed by the Crown.

19. If this was so, had the dean demanded the execution of the grant or not? Had part of the canons had their due in this respect and part not? Whetwode said that the dean had asked for the game. Nicholson and others were doubtful: Bekensaw and Redyng did not know, but said that the canons had asked the dean to claim it. The dean, said Gillot, had promised, 'but none was had as livery that he knoweth of'. Wigston said that the whole chapter had asked the dean, Burton and Whetwode to speak for the same; but Burton, Swyllington and Whetwode were the only canons who got anything, with one buck each. Attercliffe said that they were wont to have such deer, but this year they had had none: whether the dean asked or not he did not know. Burton bore out Wigston's statement with a slight difference: he, the dean, Whetwode and Swyllington had had a doe each, for which the dean and he had asked lord Dorset; while the rest had had none. The dean, on his part, related his conversation with lord Dorset when he asked for the usual grant. 'You be my brother', the marquess had said, 'I am content that you and other of my friends shall have it according to your said grant, considering you and they ask it gentilly; and, as touching other, if they be proud to ask it, I am as proud to give it', As to the actual distribution of the present, he was silent. Nicholson, Redyng and Brokesby deposed that some of the canons got their share, others not.

20 and 21. Was there a statute that the chapter, within fifteen days after a vacancy, should elect two honest and discreet members of the chapter for nomination to the founder, who should choose one of them as dean? Was the dean one of the chapter at his election, and was he chosen after the form of

the said statute or not? As to the statute there was no doubt, although Dale qualified his answer by saying that it had not been observed in the cases of four or five deans. All were unanimous that the dean had not been a canon before election. It followed that the statute had been disregarded, albeit Whetwode expressed some doubt, founded, one may expect, upon his general ignorance of the statutes. Nicholson remarked that the Crown was accustomed to nominate and present to the deanery; while the dean himself appealed to the king's prerogative, 'the which the canons of the house do sore repine, whereby their infidelity toward the king's highness may well appear'.

22 and 23. Was there any statute that the dean, with the majority of the chapter, should correct and reform the ministers of the church, or not? If so, had the dean corrected any minister contrary to such statute? Seven canons agreed that there was such a statute. Four agreed that it applied only to certain cases, which, as Wigston and Burton said, were of minor importance: Dale excepted cases which by statute were referred to the ordinary. The canons were doubtful whether the dean had broken the statute in any specific instance: he himself answered confidently that 'he never punished none but that he will justify to be done lawfully and according to the statutes'. Dale said that the dean had put a clerk—Thomas Wales—in the stocks without the consent of the majority, and Brokesby, quoting the same case, threw a doubt upon its legality.

24. Might the dean keep any woman of good name and fame in his house according to the statutes? No woman, answered the dean, might be kept in the college without his leave: he prayed for the removal of all such unlicensed persons and for the punishment of the canons who had introduced them. Opinions varied. While Bekensaw thought that the dean might have women in his house, and Nicholson and Redyng thought that he might have honest women, Whetwode thought not. Attercliffe was uncertain: Dale considered that the statute was not to the contrary: Brokesby said that the custom had been so. Gillot admitted that by statute the dean could give leave to the canons for this purpose, but Burton said that this statute was made for the canons and the ministers, not for the dean. Wigston said that, while the dean could give licence to the canons, he must get a licence himself from the bishop: just as, if he broke the statutes, correction lay with the bishop, not with the canons.

25. Were there any suspect women in the deanery or the canons' houses, contrary to the statutes? The dean's answer was that he had no women in his house: as for the canons, they were of age: ask them. Whetwode and Swyllington thought not. Nicholson knew of no canon who had any woman in his house. Five denied the presence of any suspect woman in college, and Bekensaw and Brokesby answered no without more phrase than Bekensaw's qualification, 'so far as he knew'.

26. This opened a new set of questions intended to elicit the feelings of the college with regard to lady Hungerford and her husband. It was evidently the design of the dean's enemies, having established the blackness of his reputation by the previous interrogatories, to get a flattering picture of themselves as the benefactors and protectors of the college in contrast to the tyrant who tried to bully the chapter. Were the ministers of the college, they asked, inquieted, so that divine service was disturbed, by the presence of lady Hungerford, sir Richard and their servants? The dean again considered the question too general. Of the canons, Whetwode alone answered yes. Bekensaw and Dale said no upon their conscience. Four canons denied the disturbance of divine service: Swyllington thought there was none: Gillot said warmly that not only 'he knoweth no disturbance of God's service by their being here, but that the service of God is the better maintained by their being here'. Nicholson knew of no minister inquieted by them but Robert Marshall; while Burton recalled the affair on Relic Sunday and the disorder caused by their hounds and hawks.

27—34. These questions recited various benefactions of William lord Hastings, under the covering question whether he or his ancestors had been benefactors to the college, giving and obtaining for it the benefits following, 'whereby the said lady Hungerford ought to have the more favour'. Had Hastings not obtained a mortmain licence to the value of £100 from Edward IV at his own cost? Had he not similarly obtained lands and tenements for the college to the amount of £60 a year? Had he not given £20 sterling in ready money to the college? Had he not ordained his obit with fees which were twice and half as much again the fees given at any other obit, *viz.*, two shillings for each canon, twelvepence for each vicar and clerk, and sixpence for each chorister? Had he not founded another obit for his wife Katherine, with twelvepence for every canon, sixpence for every vicar and clerk, and threepence for every chorister? Had

he not given the college a cope and vestment of cloth of gold, a cope of tissue cloth, and as much black velvet for principal obits as made up a vestment for the deacon and sub-deacon, as well as 'a goodly tablet of gold, set with precious stones and pearl!'?

The canons were generally at one upon the main subject of Hastings' benefactions. Nicholson and Burton rather invidiously gave the glory to Hastings' predecessors or ancestors, and Whetwode did not know. Wigston said plainly that Hastings and his predecessors had been the best and chiefest benefactors after the founder. As to the detailed benefactions, Whetwode would not commit himself: his information was merely hearsay. Thus he had heard that a licence in mortmain had been obtained by the means of lord Hastings, but at whose costs he knew not. The canons as a whole were unready to acknowledge the benefits too readily. Wigston, Dale, Redyng and Bekensaw gave assent to all, with the exception that Bekensaw was not sure about the gift of £20. Brokesby assented to the gifts of vestments and plate and the obits: of the money benefits he had heard, but was doubtful about the £20. Burton, who probably knew more of the college and its possessions than any of the others, was cautious throughout. He did not know, had not heard, or thought so. He thought that dame Katherine had founded her obit herself. He knew of one of the copes, not of the others. Attercliffe was even more punctilious. He did not know of the mortmain licence. With Gillot, he thought that Hastings had obtained St. John's hospital and the lazar-house of St. Leonard for the college. Of the £20 gift he knew nothing. He could testify to Hastings' own obit, as he was in receipt of the money, and he knew that there was an obit for Katherine. He acknowledged the copes, but doubted about the velvet; and, while they certainly had a tablet of the kind described, he did not know who gave it. There was a little uncertainty in other quarters respecting the copes and tablet, which argues some ignorance and want of curiosity on the part of the canons.

The dean did not trouble to answer about these trivial points. He supposed that Hastings was a great benefactor to the house, and he included his name daily in his prayers with those of other benefactors. He was also content to honour the present lord Hastings as his descendant. But he would not receive lady Hungerford and her husband as benefactors until he could find out that they had done some good to the college. 'And as for lady Hungerford, where she was married to one of the lord

Hastings, she utterly renounceth the name of the lady Hastings, and calleth herself lady Hungerford, wherefore I take her as none of that blood'.[9] But the dean himself came of that blood. Did Hastings found an obit for his wife? That lady, the dean's grandmother, founded her obit in her widowhood, 'wherefore the dean ought to have more favour, considering he is descended of the blood of a benefactor to the house'. He even pleaded, as a proof that he should have more favour shewn him, that he came 'of the stock lineally' from the original founder.

35. The remaining questions concerned the efforts of Sacheverell and lady Hungerford for the college. Had not Sacheverell at the last parliament procured exemption from tenths for the college, as appeared by a special proviso to that effect? Bekensaw was the only canon who answered yes without reserve; while Whetwode was the only one who hinted a negative. The others were agreed that Sacheverell had worked well with the help of other friends, especially of Swyllington, a lay relation, presumably, of the canon of that name. When Dale had thanked Roger Wigston[10] for obtaining this favour, Roger had said, 'Give thanks to master Sacheverell, for, albeit I and master Swyllington did as much as we might therein, it had not been gotten but by master Sacheverell'. But the dean rejected the idea that Sacheverell's mediation constituted him a benefactor. It did not lie in Sacheverell's power to grant such an exemption: that was the province of the king, the cardinal and the houses of parliament. His mediation proved him 'a well-willer and a good speaker for the college', but the benefits which it procured were not his to give.

36. Had not Sacheverell obtained letters patent for the appropriation of Hanslope church in Buckinghamshire to the college, in recompense for the loss suffered by the decay of wood, which previously had supplied them with fuel, in the chase of Leicester? Whetwode alone denied the question. The others affirmed, either of their own knowledge or on hearsay, that Sacheverell was very diligent in this behalf or that he had

[9] Lady Hungerford's rejection of the style of lady Hastings was no doubt due to her desire to use the title which was hers by inheritance, and there is no reason for supposing that she was alienated from the family of her first husband. Her son, the first earl of Huntingdon, secured to her the manor of Aller in Somerset for a term of seven years after her death, and Sacheverell in his last will enjoined his executors to pay out of the issues of the manor 100 marks to each of lord Huntingdon's three sons and £100 to each of his two daughters. (P.C.C. 15 Hogen).

[10] Roger Wigston, the younger brother of William and Thomas Wigston.

obtained the licence. The dean's circumstantial denial was ready. Sacheverell had done more harm than good. He had persuaded the college to release the grant to the Crown, and, as the ordinary would not consent to the appropriation of the church, they had got no good out of it. Moreover, the king himself—presumably when the matter was before the privy council—had told Sacheverell that the petition had been made, not by him but by sir William Compton, who was doing his duty as steward of the college with a regular fee. 'Wherefore Sacheverell is not worthy to have thank in this matter, but only for his good-will, in case he meant well'. The dean was certainly not ready to allow his foes any spark of goodness.

37. The next question invited the canons to subscribe to lady Hungerford's intention, entertained constantly from her twenty-fifth year, of being buried in the collegiate church, where her place of burial had been assigned and was well known. She was therefore determined to be a benefactress to the college; and, as the dean seemed equally determined to stand in her way, she declared that he had broken the statutes by endeavouring to hinder the profit of the college and was therefore perjured. All the canons except Whetwode, who knew and had heard nothing of her place of burial and was not certain of the benefits to be done, thought or had heard that this was true. Bekensaw and Redyng had heard her say so many times. Nicholson said that it had been so for twelve years past. With regard to her benevolent intentions they were vague, and the most definite statement was Bekensaw's, who believed that she would be a special benefactress and that she was a good lady. The dean emphatically denied any knowledge of her burial arrangements or of any special place appointed for her tomb. He was 'nothing privy' to her mind, 'but thinketh that she will say what she listeth and do as she will. Nothwithstanding, if she be disposed to any benefit to the house, the dean is well content that she shall have as large and amply prayer as ever any noble man or woman had for a like benefit done to the house'.

38. Was it true that the dean, 'of his envious and malicious mind', wanted to compel lady Hungerford to leave the college precincts on the pretext, 'in his crafty and feigned manner', of the conservation of the statutes and the wealth of the college? On the other hand, he had allowed Gillot to have women in his house daily, who could not bring the house as much profit as lady Hungerford could and daily did: this shewed that the dean

was moved, not by the wealth of the college, but by malice. It it obvious that the mention of Gillot would produce some division of opinion, as he had quarrelled with the dean and was hostile to the dean's few supporters. Only Whetwode, in spite of the fact that he had brawled openly with Gillot and had thrown a cup of beer in his face, gave an answer directly against lady Hungerford. She had asked no leave for herself and her women: Gillot's women were there with the dean's licence. Swyllington, who otherwise did his best to offend neither party, said that 'my lady may do much more profit for the college if she will, than many such that dwelleth with master Gillot'. Dale, Redyng and Nicholson thought the same. Wigston saw no inconvenience in lady Hungerford's presence. Redyng had heard the dean say that she did not stay in the college with his favour. Burton and Brokesby preferred not to know, and Gillot himself gave a brief affirmative. The dean said it was his continual intention to remove lady Hungerford. He was not moved by envy or malice 'for the truth is, the dean useth no such rancour and malice to bear in his mind against any person; wherefore he will be loath to use himself so against any woman of noble blood, as my lady Hungerford is'. His true reason was 'only for the quietness of himself, his lovers and friends within the college of Newarke'.

39. Lastly, was it not true that lady Hungerford, 'by her good means, labour and procuring', had added a chorister to the foundation with a permanent endowment, thus bringing the number up to seven? Had she not procured a gift of £80 in ready money for the college, which was delivered and paid to the provost and could not have been obtained without her help? Dale assented. Nicholson agreed to the chorister, and thought that the £80 had been given. Bekensaw and Brokesby had heard so, but Burton had not. The remaining six did not know. As regarded the £80, the dean gave no answer; but, so far as he knew, the additional chorister had been provided by one of the canons and not by lady Hungerford. He was ready to inquire into the matter.

Sacheverell and lady Hungerford can hardly have been satisfied with the result of the last interrogatory. A careful balancing of all the answers points to the conclusion that, if the majority in the college was opposed to the dean, the canons as a whole felt lady Hungerford's patronage somewhat overwhelming and were not prepared to support her claims without reservation. Members of the smaller gentry and the middle class, they found

themselves involved in a feud between two persons of noble birth, to submit to either of whom was to sanction a tyranny. Even Whetwode, who was frankly a supporter of the dean, answered with some reserve. The memory of my lord Dorset's good fare, of which they had been the privileged partakers, did not tempt Burton and Swyllington from their discretion. Bekensaw, Brokesby, Dale and Redyng, who hated the dean, became more temperate in the face of Sacheverell's and lady Hungerford's appeals to their gratitude. Nicholson was swayed more actively by his dislike, and Gillot shewed no good feeling; but the difficulty in deciding their exact attitude affords presumption for supposing that they gave evidence as their conscience moved them. Wigston's attitude is quite clear: he had been insulted by the dean, but he put the good of the college above personal feeling and answered carefully and clearly. Attercliffe's answers gave a similar impression; and to these two and to Burton, a man of weight and cautious mind, we may look most confidently for the true aspect of the case. The dean, on his part, was frank enough. He made no secret of his animosity. He felt that Sacheverell and lady Hungerford were an intolerable nuisance: he despised the canons and knew very well that the opposite party was merely trying to use them for its own ends. Like all domineering persons he confounded his own wishes with the general good. Without tact or cunning, he found that everything he said or did was opposed by the majority, and had lost his temper. His answers are those of a man who feels himself injured by his inferiors and finds his only remedy in passionate insult. When all is said and done, it is impossible to feel very strongly for him: his high social position and relationship to the Crown were all on his side and should have helped him to maintain his dignity. But the fact remains that Sacheverell and his wife had no business in the college. Even if they had been perfectly innocent of stirring up a faction against the dean and had been there simply for their soul's health, their retinue, their hawks and hounds, the resort of local players and mummers to their dwelling for the sake of largesse, were distractions to a body of clergy whose duty was to serve God in church. Their benefactions would have been quite as useful if conveyed to the college from outside; and they could have done it no greater benefit than by resigning their post of resident patrons.

Some of the *detecta* furnished by the dean and canons have been summarised in connexion with the above interrogatories. They supplied much additional information with respect to the

dean's treatment of the finances of the college. Bekensaw submitted that the college had given the dean £12 when he went to court about the appropriation of Hanslope: this he had promised to restore if the matter did not take effect. Another £8 had been given him when he rode into Lancashire to recover a debt of £4 from sir Richard Hoghton. He had once entered the treasury and demanded to have the money in the common chest, but was opposed successfully by Brokesby, Gillot and Redyng. Dale said that he had actually taken about £60 from the chest and carried the money into the vestry, where the canons so withstood him that he left it with Redyng. He had borrowed fifteen marks from the college and had intermeddled with the office of provost; for he had let a farm near Preston to a certain knight—presumably sir Richard Hoghton—for £4 a year, for which a rent of £6 had been offered to the provost by one Singleton. He wanted all the hay in the bede-house meadow, of which his due was only six cart-loads, the provost receiving nine, and the rest being divided among the canons: he certainly had had more than his share. Wigston had heard the officers say that the dean had received about £80 in *douceurs* from the college at divers times. He begged the bishop to make a provision against such outlays: they could not be borne, for their church was in dilapidation and there seemed to be no money for repairs.

The most detailed story of the dean's attempt to get hold of the common fund was told by Brokesby. The dean had gone into the treasury with Redyng and Swyllington, who kept the other keys of the treasury and the chest. They had opened the chest and counted the money, which amounted to more than £60. Then the dean said, 'I will see the state of the college'.[11] The other two said apprehensively, 'Well, my lord, ye will not take none of this away'. 'No', said he, 'by mine honour and my priesthood'. He persisted, however, in putting the money in a bag, offering to give them a promissory note for the amount, and so, in spite of their objections, carried it into the vestry with the intention of taking it off. Here he was met by more of the canons, beseeching him to leave the money. '*Benedictus Deus*! my lord', said William Derby, now dead, 'what will ye do? Will ye rob this poor house? If ye have this money away, it will never come again. Ye will undo the college for ever'. Persuaded by this argument or by force of numbers, the dean 'in a great fume' had restored the money to Redyng. Redyng told the same story at

[11] *I.e.*, the *status domus*, or balance-sheet and inventory of goods.

less length, adding that he had put the money back in the treasury.

Brokesby also narrated the extra sums of money which the dean had had out of the college, the gratuity for his consent to the composition with the canons, the £12 for going to court, the £8 for his costs in Lancashire, where he went to survey two benefices,[12] a business which ought to have been carried out by the provost. Further, he had been forgiven a bond for £10, on the understanding that he would procure the remission of the college from certain things concerning the king—probably tenths. Brokesby and Gillot brought up the old subject of the lapse of presentation to Llandyfaelog, to shew how little the dean cared for anything but his own way. He would not agree to the presentation desired by the chapter, and, as he had the key of the common seal, no presentation could be made and the church lapsed for that turn to the bishop of St. David's. Again, Brokesby complained that the dean had nominated two choristers who could not read or write, and, as the vicars Hurderon and Butchard said, were untaught in plainsong or pricksong; albeit they were able by royal grant to make choice of the very best choristers outside certain specified localities. Thomas Bull, the fourth clerk, who had been imposed upon the college by the dean, was also unfit for his office.

Another cause of complaint was that, when the dean celebrated at high mass, he wanted to have one of the canons as deacon. To this the canons objected, evidently on the ground that the dean could not compel his fellow-canons to serve him at the altar, while vicars were there to do their part. He had tried to compel Bekensaw one Whitsunday, laying the duty upon him in virtue of obedience. Bekensaw had got out of it only by paying another canon, Gillot, to take his place. Again, when Brokesby had been before the bishop for correction, the dean had complained that this was an acknowledgement of a judge who had no competence, asserting that he himself would correct Brokesby for his offences. While the dean and chapter had ordained that the statutes should be expounded and revised by the bishop and his chancellor, the dean himself had got hold of the statutes and was showing them to strangers and taking counsel about them. He had apparently sent Burton and Whetwode to court upon his own account: the chapter had not sent him, but was expected to pay their expenses. Hurderon and

[12] No doubt Preston and Cockerham.

Butchard were of opinion that the dean had set them all by the ears. Before he came, there was good concord between the canons and the ministers, and the divine office was celebrated becomingly and as it should be. But, since he came, charity had departed, strife was on the increase and was daily sown between the dean and canons. Divine worship was so much impaired that, without the application of a remedy, the college would suffer prejudice. The vicars had their own griefs to bear. The dean bore himself over-haughtily towards them, and shewed them a forbidding countenance. William Reade, the sub-chanter, 'an honest man', said Hurderon, 'and of good conversation, whose departure would much prejudice the church', had been greeted with the epithet of 'daw fool'.

As for the canons themselves, the dean accused them of applying the proceeds of fines and other sources of revenue to their own uses, instead of being content with their stipends. Wigston was doubtful of the legality of declaring a dividend upon fines. Gillot also sought the bishop's opinion upon this point, as well as upon the question whether the college as a whole or its members severally were responsible for the payment of subsidies to the Crown. Gillot also raised the point whether the agreement was justifiable by which the canons employed £13 out of the £17 received yearly from the manor of Elmsall to pay the vicars who celebrated Simon Symeon's three masses, and divided the remainder among themselves. The masses in any case were celebrated irregularly, and sometimes by people from outside the college. It was certainly against the statutes that the canons, after meeting the necessary burthens of the church and lordship of Cransley, should divide the surplus.

The visitation is remarkably free from any imputations of immoral conduct. All that was said of the women, licensed and unlicensed, who dwelt as women-servants in some of the canons' houses, or of the bede-house women who served in Burton's house, was that their presence was against the statutes. Brokesby was the only canon accused of incontinency. Burton, Whetwode and the dean's vicar, Sutton, had presented him to the dean for over-kindness with the wife of an honest man named Smyth. Their witness had been supported by the bailiff of Leicester and by Henry Pixe, smith, probably the injured husband, and was procured from various honest clergy and laity. Brokesby seems, from the dean's account, to have been an undesirable person. He kept arms in his house, and when he got drunk, which was often,

his talk was all of wars and fighting-fields. But the dean may have magnified occasional frailties into constant habits.

Intermittent absence from college was objected to Whetwode by Wigston and Gillot. He had twice exceeded his statutory furlough. He was unsatisfactory in other respects. Once he had missed a mass while talking with the dean of St. Mary's, Warwick, and refused to pay his fine. Although he had been asked twice for the two marks which he owed the college as an entrance fee, he had not paid them yet. If, however, Whetwode had missed a mass, attendance in choir, on the part of canons and vicars alike, was irregular. They had fallen into the custom, very prevalent at this date, of walking about the nave while service was going on in choir. The vicars, said Burton, strolled about the nave without their habits. The vicar who said the Lady mass neglected his duty of saying matins and vespers of our Lady with the choristers. Swyllington and Gillot said that the consequent fine of a halfpenny was not paid; while the other vicars asserted that they were not bound to sing at the Lady mass, and insisted on their right to walk about during its celebration. Dale hinted that the executor of the office was sometimes without the secondary or assistant who ought to assist him : the vicars did not sing in choir as they ought. Gillot asked for a pronouncement from the bishop upon the the subject of attendance in choir. He said that the canons were slack in their attendance at the Saturday chapters. Matins, moreover, were not begun punctually at six o'clock, which, Redyng said, was the fault of the precentor. Several of the vicars agreed that matins were begun late, in consequence of which, according to William Mosse, they were sung in a hurry. Richard Smyth said that the pauses in chanting were not observed. Sometimes, he said, the vicars were negligent in choir during service. Thomas Rigmayden, who said that opinions differed about the hour of matins, complained that some of the canons who were not officers meddled in choir as if they were. When asked whom he meant, he said 'Master Brokesby'; for once, when the precentor had taken the psalter to Sutton, that he might do his part in the service, Brokesby said, 'I had liefer have laid the book on his head than have brought it to him'. Sutton, it will be remembered, was the dean's vicar, and therefore would have found little favour in Brokesby's eyes. Sutton's only contribution to the *detecta* was the statement that all things that were in need of reformation met with correction from the chapter, in which he was supported by

William Harvy. John Liderland, another vicar, was optimistic: all things, in his judgment, were well.

Four canons, Swyllington, Whetwode, Bekensaw and Dale, neglected to observe hospitality and did not board their vicars. Swyllington added Gerrard's name to the number: Gillot also mentioned it, but left out the name of Bekensaw. Burton asked for a clearer definition of the statute. As regards the hospitality which was the *raison d' être* of the college, it was objected that vacant places in the hospital were granted for a consideration to those who were able to pay for them. Some of the so-called poor were really rich and had been known to sell property in Leicester after their admission. The dean's servant and the porter, Dale said, drove a traffic in places in the almshouse. Gillot asked whether it was right that the sum of a half-penny a week, bequeathed by one benefactor, should be paid in its entirety once a year or in half-pennies week by week. The custom had grown that, when any of the poor-folk died, the canons divided among themselves his half-pennies, if they had not been paid. Brokesby said that there were more women than men among the poor folk. Persons who had recovered from their maladies were not expelled. One Vincent, who, with others, was by no means in feeble health, had sold lands and tenements for ten pounds since entering the hospital. The bede-house chaplain was paid £4 yearly, for which 200 marks had been paid to the college; but, although the college had bound itself to pay the chaplain for ever, the 200 marks had disappeared, no one knew how. Dale said that this was the reason which made the canons unwilling to take Gerrard's £120: there was no guarantee that they would see any of it.

There was some complaint against the porter. Bekensaw alleged that he did not wait upon the canons at divine service; the hebdomadary canon paid him eightpence weekly or gave him his commons for carrying the silver verge before the executant of the office to and from the church, a duty which he did not perform. He also stirred up strife between the dean and canons and had taken part in a fight with one of the vicars.

We have seen that the dean had brought seven charges of violence against Sacheverell's servants. Pugnaciousness was certainly a feature of the life of the place. Whetwode had ended a wrangle with Gillot by flinging his beer in his face and had said afterwards 'that master Gillot was happy that it was not worse'. Swyllington enumerated other unseemly incidents. Two vicars, Sutton and the 'daw fool' Reade, had had a fight. Brokesby

had dragged Tailour, one of the clerks, out of the cloister and hit him with his fist. Another clerk, named Wakeley, had been hauled out of church by Redyng with results undiscovered. Gerrard's vicar had fought with the gate-keeper: Gillot's vicar had fought with a layman in the town. The pot-valiant Brokesby had a story of his own to tell. As he went to church one day, he met 'in a strait cross way', a servant of lord Leonard Grey's, called Derby, going towards the deanery, 'very fast with a sword, buckler and dagger, with a froward and high countenance, so that this deponent for fear did go back and give him room'. He complained to the dean, who asked pertinently, 'Did he anything to you?' 'Nay', said Brokesby, 'for if he had, it had been too late to have complained'. 'Well', quoth the dean, 'I can judge no thoughts. If ye meddle with him, I think ye shall find him a quick man'. Brokesby retorted, 'He shall not find me all dead'. On the same day there had been a passage of words between William Brown, a serving-man of the dean, and Brokesby's vicar, William Mosse, who was ready to serve as deacon at high mass. At this appropriate moment, Brown called Mosse 'a red-headed fox', and threatened him, 'If thou wert another manner man, I would use thee after another manner'. It appeared that Brown was agitated by a sneer of the fourth clerk, whom he heard say 'Yonder cometh master Unthrift'. Whereupon Brown 'ran after the fourth clerk, swearing a great oath, if the chanter would not correct him, he would thrust him through both cheeks with his dagger'. This seems to have happened just before his opprobrious speech to Mosse, while he was still feeling sore at the unruliness of his clergy neighbours.

The examination of ninety-four 'poor folk' in the bede-house proved that the system of admission had been much abused. Out of the sixty-seven men only twenty-seven had been admitted freely; out of the twenty-seven women sixteen. Nothing, however could be said of John Clownam, who had an impediment in his speech; while Annis Colton and Margaret Shepley were too deaf to answer, Margaret Philp was paralytic, Joan Odom was sick and Joan Wayn was a dumb idiot. The thirty-nine men and six women who had been admitted by direct or indirect payment had used some diversity of operation. Some had paid one of the canons sums varying from 43s. 4d. downwards. Others had given presents of capons or woodcocks. Burton had had a calf from one man, and a shield of brawn from another; while this second man had won the prior of Ulverscroft's good graces by serving him for nothing. Most had paid influential people to

help them. One or two had lent money, which they had never seen again. Two, professing not to have bought their rooms, had nevertheless given fees to messengers for riding to London on their behalf. One man had given £3 to the gilding of the rood-loft in the college church. Another had put twenty shillings 'upon an altar's end', where it was received by Redyng. Two men had given all that they had for their rooms: one of these had bribed his son with it. The women paid more moderately, although one parted with six acres of land. A chafer to one of the canons was the contribution of another: a third obtained her room by the miscellaneous donation of five nobles to Robert Clerke and a pot of ale and a hen to the bailiff's wife.

Various notes remain in the visitation book which were used for the compilation of the injunctions. On fo. 85 there is a petition in a very crabbed hand, praying for reformation of four points, *viz.*, (1) the habit, common to some of the canons and vicars, of sitting in choir when they ought to be singing; (2) the habit of keeping more than one of the 'town obits' at the same time, because the land from which the obits were maintained had been curtailed; (3) the doubt whether the dean and canons might give away common property; (4) the abuse of the bede-house by persons able to get their living, who should be expelled and others put in their rooms. Also on fo. 46 there is a list of notes to which further reference will be made at the end of the injunctions.

The bishop adjourned his visitation, apparently on 28 November, for a term limited by Midsummer day. Before he left, he gave verbal orders to the canons who had not observed hospitality during their residence according to the statutes, to do so before 1 May. He also forbade canons to receive suspect women in their houses. More than this, he actually arranged a *modus vivendi* between the dean and canons, who made peace in his presence and forgave one another their offences of deed and word. Bekensaw undertook to pay five pounds to the college within the next two days, in full satisfaction of the money for the advowson of the vicarage of Preston which he had received from James Stratebarell, and so secured freedom from any further complaint on the part of the dean.

Bishop Longland, at a date unspecified, issued a long series of Latin injunctions to the dean and canons. These are not contained in the visitation book, but an unfinished copy has been bound into the bishop's register of memoranda.[13] A translation

[13] Lincoln Epis. Reg. xxvi, ff. 47-50.

of this valuable document, rich in instructive detail, may close this account of a visitation which sheds so much light upon the inner life of the foundation.

'John, by divine permission bishop of Lincoln, to our beloved in Christ the worshipful lord George Grey, dean of the college of the Newarke of Leicester, and the chapter of the same college, health, grace and blessing. When we were visiting your college both in its head and members, we in the first place made search whether divine worship, purity of life and honesty of conversation were observed towards God, then whether the statutes of your founder, of most illustrious memory, were kept without breach among you, and lastly whether things had gone well as regards your lands and possessions and the rest of your household goods. And from what was related to us in the said business of our visitation we have it found that, with respect to things divine, much guilt has been committed by some folk, while, in the observance of the statutes, you have so departed from the founder's words and meaning that certain statutes, which concern the good of your college in the first instance, appear to be almost abrogated by disuse or by ill keeping of the same. Moreover, we found your household affairs, as well as the care of your possessions and external landed property, in such a state of neglect, that, unless provision be made of speedy and fitting remedy, it might be feared that, with respect to the state of this college, all will be over before long. For where ill weeds have once grown up and, by long use and habitual custom, have fixed their roots, and have become so common that they may not easily be moved, they are never rooted out, or at any rate with very great difficulty. And since there are divers kinds of evils which creep about in this college, and new inconveniences do daily spread, like shoots from old plants, it seems to us worth the trouble, so far as with God's help we may, to take up the stronger roots and occasions of sin; and so thereafter the ills which spring from them will lack their strength. Out of many things therefore which were set forth in our visitation, and from the use whereof your college has come into low estate, we have handled a few, seeing that it would be too lengthy to note them one by one; and we send you the injunctions which follow to be observed by you all under pain of contempt.

'In the first place then, in the order of our enquiry, we understood that there shall be six choristers in your college, to be admitted by the dean, if they be fit, at the precentor's nomi-

nation, to serve in your church in the habit and tonsure under rule of the precentor, after the manner of the choristers in the church of Salisbury;[14] and, in order that the divine office should thereby be celebrated better among you, royal licence has been granted you, whereby you may in all places, a few only excepted, choose boys that are fit and learned in song and compel them to do you service. Sir Roger Fysbroke[15] also, of honest memory, some time a canon of your church, added a fourth clerk to be nominated by the dean, who should have a mind to take holy orders, and on every day, not a festival, should attend school, and on feasts of nine lessons and Sundays and other feast days should serve in choir under the chanter's supervision. Nevertheless, the dean of your college, to whom the nomination of such choristers in no way belongs, has nominated against the order of the statute, to the number of the six choristers two unsuitable lads, who are wholly unteachable in reading and song, and has likewise instituted a fourth clerk, unteachable and unskilled in song; and he is thought to be hereafter admitting like persons to the damage of divine worship. As we wish, therefore, before all things, to maintain the order of divine worship, we enjoin upon the dean of this college, under pain of contempt, that, within a month after the date of these presents, he remove the said two boys and fourth clerk, who have been received contrary to the words of the statute and are utterly unfit for the furtherance of God's service, and suffer the precentor of your college to supply in their stead other boys who are able in reading and song, while the dean himself, to whom the nomination of the fourth clerk belongs, shall choose and appoint such an one as may be fit for the order of the priesthood and of needful skill for divine worship.

'We have found also that your founder's pious will has been sorely wounded as regards the admission of the hundred poor folk and ten women; that persons rich and not poor, strong and not weak, healthy and able to work, have been received by means of money into the said number of a hundred, contrary to the statute, whereof the words are "If any of the poor folk have so recovered from his infirmity that by his toil he can get him victuals and raiment, let him be expelled from the said place, and another weak man and poor be supplied in his stead".[16] Lest,

[14] See statute 10 in Russell's recension, to which the numbers given at various points in the injunctions refer.

[15] *Sic*: Fysshewyke is meant. See statute 21.

[16] Statute 12: for the text see A 13.

therefore the pious alms of your founder, which were given by him purely and freely, be exposed for sale to persons who are rich and able to work, we enjoin upon the dean of your college under pain of contempt, and do charge his conscience before the Most High in this behalf, that within the month next following he expel from the poor-house all that are rich, strong and able by their toil to get victuals and clothing, and supply in their stead poor folk, weak, and worthy of your pious founder's alms, without using means of sale either by himself or his servants; and that henceforth he admit such poor altogether as the statute requires, and in no wise others, under pain of contempt. Moreover, we will and command you to have ten women only, and no more, to serve the hundred poor folk aforesaid according to the force of the statute, and in no wise as servants to the canons or anyone of them. And since it is charged by your statute that sevenpence and a half-penny be paid week by week to each poor man,[17] and you (for what reason, at any rate if it be just, we know not) delay the payments of the weekly half-penny until the end of the year; and, if in the meantime any poor folk have died, the sum accruing from the said half-pence is divided among you, since the division of all such money due to the men and women deceased among the survivors is decreed by the words of the eleventh statute; we therefore enjoin upon the dean and canons of this college that henceforward you cause the half-pence which are due to the poor folk, male and female, to be distributed together with the seven other weekly pennies, and on no account take for your own uses the sum proceeding from the half-pence aforesaid. We enjoin moreover upon the dean of this college and upon his lieutenant in his absence, that he exact the fine of one penny, which according to the statutes should be devoted to your church's fabric fund,[18] from the vicar who on solemn festivals and feast-days celebrates mass in the presence of the poor folk, so often as he does not return to choir, after mass is over, to promote divine worship with the rest of the ministers therein.

'Inasmuch as, by the force of the eighteenth statute and by

[17] See statutes 11, 81. The original statute (A 12), providing for three halfpence a day if wheat was at ten shillings a quarter, was modified in B, which fixed the normal payment at the penny contingent upon the lower price of wheat. In the codicil to B (90) the extra half-penny was restored under the conditions prescribed in A. B 90 was modified in statute 81, which substituted for the specified half-penny a share in the offerings of the poor-box: this the bishop seems to have taken as an average share of a halfpenny a day.

[18] Statute 27.

the appointment of the common law,[19] canonical obedience is due from all the canons and ministers of your church to the dean, as the president of your church and college, the which obedience should consist in three things especially, in showing him reverence, in receiving his commands and in undergoing his judgment; we have heard that the dean of this college does very generally under virtue of obedience, which binds to mortal sin those who go counter to one who gives just and lawful orders, bid the canons of this college keep silence while business is being discussed in chapter; that he utters threatening words and, in this and other unlawful and unseemly ways, endeavours that the election of officers and certain other businesses, which ought to be settled with the consent of the more part of the chapter, should go forward according to his will, with contradiction from few or none, but with their fearful silence. Now, even as we ought to give all our aid to the dean when he justly orders that you his subjects should fulfil his lawful bidding, so also, when his orders are wrongful, it become us to withstand him rightfully and lend our aid to his gainsayers, lest, by forced consent or by silence, which sometimes carries consent, aught should be decreed or done, which may gravely and without repair redound to the damage of your college; we therefore enjoin upon the dean of this college in virtue of holy obedience, that from henceforth, according to the words of the 37th statute, he shall rule and direct the canons, vicars and other ministers of the said college in manner discreet and due;[20] that he shall order nothing to be done under virtue of obedience but what is just; that he shall decree or settle nothing in the affairs of the college, where the consent of the majority is required by the force of the statute, save with the free consent of all whose consent is demanded to come first by the statute,[21] that he shall not ask the canons' consent with revilings or threats which provoke fear and sometimes despite; but that the business be unfolded in seemly and kindly words and the wills of each one be inquired into. For otherwise it may happen that the truth or the profit of the college, which, if free opportunity of speech be given, can appear clearly and certainly by the declaration of each man's opinion, may by fearful silence be suppressed and perish, or serious damage impending on the college may not be

19 For the text see A 21. *I.e.*, the common law of the Church, canon law.

20 Statute 36 : for text see A 39.

21 There is no general statute to this effect, but the consent of a majority of the canons is required in statutes 18 and others referring to particular cases.

disclosed. And it is a dangerous example to allow voices and votes in common to be hindered in the elections of officers and other public and common businesses of your college, seeing that such cases concern all and, according to the rules of law, "that which concerns all should be approved by all";[22] and we ought on the contrary to foresee that no evil proceed from overfreedom of speech, for as Sallust says, "we have all become worse from license". And so, while we take order that each single canon be free to declare his opinion and mind openly in the common businesses of the college and its other causes, we forbid to all and sundry quarrelsomeness, talkativeness, babbling, sauciness, and irreverence in giving an opinion. And we enjoin upon you all, the canons, vicars and ministers of this college, under pain of contempt, that you shew canonical obedience to your dean; that, so far as the statutes of your college bind you hereunto, you hearken and be obedient to his lawful and honest canonical commands in all things; and that all you canons, in the absence of lawful impediment, be present on Saturdays at a chapter, to be approved by the dean, if he be present, or otherwise by his lieutenant, and handle business of chapter therein faithfully, prudently, peacefully, honestly, lovingly and in quiet, without strife and wrangling.

'It was ordained, not without aforethought, but of advice wholesome and well considered, that your college should be walled with walls, enclosures and two gates; and it was appointed that there should be a layman or married clerk, or other serving-man of honest conversation and good report, to keep due ward of the gates of the enclosure of your church and college, to open and shut them by day-time and night-time, and to do service to the dean and the other canons at the divine offices and bear the white rod before them.[23] We have found, however, in this our visitation that the said serving-man has sometimes shut the college-gates unseasonably and before the proper hour and of malice has shut out some of the ministers of the church; for which cause, as we have learned, certain of the ministers of the church have oftentimes spent the night in the town to the scandal and against the statutes of your college; while he suffers others to go out and come in at their pleasure after the due and fitting hours, whereat no little complaint abounds among their fellows. Moreover he neglects to go before them that execute the divine office

22 Sext. Decretal. tit. *de regulis iuris*, xxix (*Corpus Juris Canonici*, ed. Friedberg, II, 1048).

23 Statute 22.

with the white rod and to do them service, and [we have heard] that he is wont to stir up quarrels maliciously with a false tongue between the dean and canons. We have understood moreover that, beside the great gates which at the first foundation were built in common for you all, you have certain other privy gates cut in the walls of your college in the back-sides of your houses, where-through (as rumour is) there go in and come out of custom, secretly and stealthily, men and women by day-time and night-time alike, to the great scandal of you and the college aforesaid. We enjoin upon you the dean, and in his absence, upon his lieutenant, in virtue of obedience and under pain of contempt, that you shall persuade and compel the serving-man of the college to whom the ward of the gates is entrusted, first by warning, in the second place by the withdrawal of his salary, and finally under pain of loss of his office, to fulfil his office with more diligence and honesty, and with greater indifference and moderation both as regards his words and answers and the due keeping of the gates, and to do service to them that execute the divine office. And that from the first day of April until the first of October the gates shall be closed at nine o'clock at night, and be opened at six o'clock in the morning or before, so that it be after five o'clock; and from the first of October until April they shall be fastened immediately after eight o'clock at night, and be opened again at six o'clock in the morning; commanding moreover that all the canons, vicars and ministers of this college shall return to the college before the gates are closed, and not spend the night in the town of Leicester, under pain of the [44th] statute, so often as it be meet to be inflicted upon that sin, without any remission or indulgence. Moreover, we enjoin upon you, the dean and canons and all the ministers of this college, that on this side the next feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist you shall block up and close all your privy gates and separate ways, which you have in the back-sides of your houses, with a stone wall at the costs of the college, and that you make no privy gates or doorways henceforth, but that there be open entrance and exit to you and them that come to you only through those two common gates which were ordained by the foundation charter of the college and are named in your statute.

'Whereas the founder of your college restricted all the canons, other than the dean, and the ministers of the same to continual and personal residence therein, save at certain seasons and under a modification which is defined in the statutes, and

laid penalties on them that do otherwise, while he suffered the dean to be away from the college for certain reasons and receive his entire pay for five months and no longer; we have it found in this our visitation that your founder's ordinances have been grievously transgressed herein, and that the withdrawal of money and impositions of fines which are written in the statutes have in nowise been carried out against the absent. Wherefore, seeing that, at the time of your admissions into the said college, each one has been sworn to be faithful to the said college and to keep all its statutes in their entirety, we do not see how, wrongfully squandering the monies of your college, and making the same payments to those who can claim them by no title, you do not incur evident perjury. The statutes have been published among you in vain, if you can alter them at your pleasure as often as you wish. We therefore enjoin upon you, the dean and canons of this college, under pain of perjury, that you be faithful to your college hènceforward, and that you keep henceforward the 23rd and 24th statutes published in this behalf, after their true, clear, literal and grammatical sense, in your own persons without deceit, and cause them to be observed by others without breach; and that, without guile, partiality, remission or indulgence, you impose and insist upon the execution of the penalties and fines and withdrawal of monies, which are appointed in the said statutes to the dean, canons and other ministers who are absent, so often as the business demands it according to the words of the statute, and such a case occurs.

'As regards divine worship, we have found that succour is needed in certain cases; for certain persons walk about in the nave of the church during divine service, as though they were strangers, in gowns without their habits, and, when they are bidden to be present at the offices, despise to obey warnings. Others while they sing the psalms in choir, without making due pauses, without fitting devoutness, do all things with too much haste and hurry, and by their excessive pace disturb divine worship in wondrous wise. To others who are absent from the divine offices the dean's lieutenant oftentimes excuses the penalties appointed in the statutes, which should be applied to the relief of those who are present and the profit of the college. Moreover, six o'clock is not kept for the beginning of divine service, as appointed by the statute.[24] The quire-books, which should be mended year by year under the care and survey of the precentor,

[24] See statute 25.

are by long use become almost useless. The wine for use at mass is sour or tasteless. The vicar who celebrates the mass of the blessed Virgin refuses to say her morning offices with the choristers. The six vicars who should be present at the mass of the same blessed Virgin, will not attend it. Moreover the constant presence at divine service of the canons and other ministers, which is required in the 28th and 29th statutes, is not observed. You also interpret, as we have heard, your statutes which bind you to attend divine service, so that your presence for a moment excuses you from staying there longer. But in all these things you stray far from the straight path of conscience and your founder's will; for the words of the law ought to be received and interpreted with effect, and, although they sometimes bear a lenient and courteous interpretation, yet the words of the statute do not so, but have a strict significance. And where an office, benefice, or priestly estate has a charge annexed, as by the statutes is laid upon your offices of priesthood and ministry, the word "attendance" is to be taken by legal interpretation more strictly than that you should be thought to have attended divine service sufficiently by making your bodily appearance in choir for a brief moment of time. And, albeit the word "continuous" is so interpreted by the judgment of the law-giver that it may allow of some interruption, nevertheless no subtle interpretation can be allowed, but such a one as may preclude deceit and negligence. And so, since all of you, the canons and vicars of this college, are clerks, chosen into the lot of the Lord,[25] received into the number of this college for this purpose chiefly, that you may undergo and fulfil the task and burthen of divine service day by day to the praise and honour of God, and therefore, canons and vicars alike, are all bound by the words of the statute to attend divine worship, what man of sound mind would decide that your founder, so good, so devout, so prudent a man, who made all things in the college for the honour and praise of God and for his own desert, thought that your presence for a moment at divine service would further God's worship to His honour, or tend to his own deserving? Who, moreover, would believe that your founder hired any sort of presence of yours, even the slightest, at divine service, for so large pay? If, then, he who receives more is thereby made more a debtor, how can you canons, who are called only to the task of the divine office and receive a fatter salary than the vicars, be absent for any time from divine service, unless

25 The reference is to the derivation and meaning of the word *clericus*.

under compulsion of necessity, with a sound conscience? We enjoin therefore upon you, the dean, canons and ministers of this college, that you receive and observe henceforward the 28th and 29th statutes according to your founder's will and meaning and the rightful interpretation of the words, and that, in the absence of lawful and pressing impediment, you be present continuously in choir at the divine offices during the celebration of the same, unless any of you be preparing himself with good faith and conscience to celebrate. And it is our will that this should be done between the versicle *Preciosa* at prime and the beginning of high mass, so that no feigned opportunity may be taken for anyone to withdraw himself unduly from divine service,[26] under the penalties of the statutes aforesaid, which it is our will that offenders incur, so often as they transgress such statutes. Let the vicar who celebrates the mass of the blessed Virgin Mary be subject to the fine inflicted in the statutes, if he be not present at matins with the choristers. Let the precentor look to the care of the books, as he is bound by his oath, and either let him straightway repair the useless books sufficiently or get new ones at the costs of the college, that divine service may be hindered in no wise by reason of lack of books. Let pure and wholesome wine be furnished to those who celebrate. We moreover enjoin upon the dean and his lieutenant, and the precentor of this college, that you cause the masses of Simon Symeon and the others to which you are bound, either by your original foundation or by actual covenant, to be celebrated by all means according to the institution of the same, and impose, exact and appoint under penalty, according to the order of the statutes and the words of the same, the pains which are laid in the statutes upon them who are neglectful or absent while divine service is performed.

'It is also contained in your statutes that the dean shall in no wise absent himself from the said church, without appointing by himself another canon, who shall take his place, and promise to celebrate masses in his stead, and to say matins and vespers on the principal feasts.[27] And it is not expressed in any statute that compulsion can be laid upon any of the canons, if he refuse, in the dean's absence, to fill his place; from which it would seem that each several canon may freely refuse the office of lieutenant, and, for lack of a lieutenant, compel the dean for ever to continual and personal residence. Therefore, considering it to be

26 This would preclude non-attendance at the early morning services, terce alone falling within the permitted period.

27 See statute 33.

unfair that the dean, to whom five months of absence are allotted by statute, should be in worse state than any of the ministers of the said college who is bound by no such compulsion; considering also that, if the dean wishes to be away for more than five months, this is allowed him by express statute, with the reduction of his pay to forty shillings; from these and many other arguments we can conjecture that the dean ought not to be forced to bodily residence, but that the founder's will was rather that a suitable canon, were he unwilling to fill the dean's place in his absence, should be persuaded at any rate to this end against his will. If therefore some hap befall that none of the canons, when he is asked, will undertake such office, seeing that it is not convenient that any or the least of the canons be appointed to such office to rule his elders, we enjoin that he shall undertake without any contradiction the place of the dean, who shall be considered the most suitable in this behalf by the judgment of the dean and the more part of the canons. But it is not our will that he should always and continually be reckoned as lieutenant, who is once chosen for that office. But ever from time to time, when the dean goes from home anew for a reasonable cause, let him choose his lieutenant afresh, if, at the dean's request, the canons decline to undertake the office of lieutenant for the time being.

'We have found moreover that certain of the canons and ministers of this college, contrary to the statutes[28] and the canonical sanctions and to the honour of their clergy, have haunted the taverns in the town of Leicester even till they were drunk, and, from their overmuch kindness with women in the town of Leicester and the neighbouring places, have incurred infamy; that they have made privy conspiracies, leagues, brawls and quarrels, and sometimes even have come to blows; that the serving-women, moreover, abide continually in the canons' houses, and other women have had often access to their houses, contrary to the 45th and 83rd statutes,[29] to the great scandal of the said college; whereby certain penalties imposed in the statutes in this behalf are frequently incurred. We enjoin therefore upon you, the dean and all the canons and ministers of the said college, under the penalties of the statutes of the same and under pain of contempt, that henceforth you be not haunters of taverns or forbidden assemblies, that you eschew the fellowship of women, that you in no wise make privy conspiracies, leagues, brawls and quarrels, and that you receive not serving-women or other women

[28] See statute 44.

[29] Statutes 44, 85.

suspect into your houses by day, or on any account, even be they honest or without suspicion, by night, or suffer them to spend the night in your houses, but and if they be noblewomen or your mother or sister. And these shall not abide with you or any one of you more than three nights, nor even so shall they come often, lest scandal arise therefrom to the college. But keep yourselves as beseems the ministers of holy mother church, clean from all defilement of body and soul, in the savour of good report and honest conversation.

'Albeit it is provided by the 51st statute that the administration of all the spiritual and temporal goods belonging to your church ought to be entrusted to the provost, when once he has been elected, and no one else should intermeddle in the administration of the same; and albeit in the 66th statute[30] it is contained that the dean, the precentor and one of the elder canons of the church aforesaid should receive whatsoever oblations belong to your church, and all the money which is forthcoming from your churches, manors and other places, and should be collected from the property of the aforesaid church, and should write them down by means of an indenture, and should lay them up faithfully to be kept in a chest under three different keys, whereof one shall remain in the dean's, the second in the precentor's, the third in the treasurer's hands, with reservation to the provost himself of the free power of making payments all and sundry; we nevertheless have understood from our visitation aforesaid that the dean of your college oftentimes encroaches upon the provost's office, grants and leases lands and farms to farmers under his own seal, has demanded and received certain monies from the treasury for the prosecution of the business of the college, albeit such privilege devolves upon the provost of necessity by reason of his office, of his own authority seizes for his own use and consumes the hay which should be sold to the profit of the college, has borrowed much money from the common chest without guarantors or proper security, and some time back took out and strove to keep in his own hands sixty pounds, against the will and the gainsaying of the precentor and treasurer, by a simple bill which made mention that the dean had received sixty pounds from the common chest, nor up to now has he paid the twenty gold pieces which he ought to have conveyed to the common chest a little after his installation. Moreover you, the dean and canons, divide among you year by year the fines of the manors and the rents of the lordship and

[30] Statute 67.

church of Cransley and certain other revenues, which according to the tenour of the 66th statute[31] should be put into the common chest, and suffer the church of God and your manors, which should be put in repair out of such revenues, to fall into dilapidation; and some of you, who are sent by the chapter to no purpose, say that you have handled the business of the college and demand an excessive allowance of costs, to the exceeding harm of your college and to the peril of the oath which was taken by you at the time of your admissions. We therefore, of our desire to apply a timely remedy against so many evils, which have long time grown in strength to the scandal and detriment of this royal college, enjoin upon the dean of this college and his successors, under pain of perjury, that he intermeddle not with the office of provost henceforward, and presume not to take out or seize upon any monies from the common chest, save for the clear profit or need of the college and with the common consent of all who are concerned, but that he observe altogether in his own person, and cause to be observed by others, the statutes uttered in this behalf. We enjoin moreover upon you, the dean and canons of this college, that henceforth you be satisfied with the stipend and portion granted to each of you severally and defined in the statutes, claiming nothing more for yourselves of the goods, property or revenues of your college, under the penalty aforesaid. We enjoin also upon the provost of the said college, in virtue of his oath taken by him at the time when he entered upon his office, that he shall summon to law all the debtors of the college, and either enforce them by legal remedies to pay their debts without delay, or at any rate otherwise take order for the indemnity of the college in this behalf by proper securities.

'It has also been made known to us that your collegiate church is threatened, in respect of its roof, with serious ruin, and also that your church is generally defiled by the hounds for hunting, whereof there is wont to be great abundance among you. Since therefore holiness becometh the house of God, and it is fitting that the place should be clean where prayer is made to God, pardon of sin is besought, Christ's Body is sacrificed and the sacraments are ministered, we enjoin upon the dean, the precentor and the provost of this college that they, by means of their serving-men and others, shut dogs and hawks out of the church, and that they cause the church to be repaired, as regards its covering, with due dispatch.

31 Statute 67.

'From the 89th statute[32] it is gathered that such ordinances and statutes should be intelligibly expounded, both to the dean and the canons and vicars of your church, before their installation or actual induction, or should be clearly read to the same; and the dean at his installation or induction, and every canon and vicar at their inductions or installations, shall take oaths in the form therein delivered upon the holy Gospels of God, touching them corporally, zealously to take care for the profit, and to avoid and eschew what is unprofitable to the collegiate church aforesaid. But, such oath notwithstanding, the dean of your college, as we have learned from the tenor of the visitation, when of late a certain benefice, which had been of the patronage of your college, was void, because he would not agree to the will of the more part of the canons touching the making of the presentation, let pass the collation thereof, by lapse of the period of six months, to the bishop of the place, to the great prejudice of the said college, losing by this his act the right of patronage and the profit of the college for that turn. And, albeit the statute utterly forbids the sale of corrodies or annuities by the dean or the canons,[33] the dean nevertheless in times gone by made instance and great endeavour for the grant of a perpetual annuity to one of the members of your body in return for the payment of ready money; although your college is bound in a like case to the payment of four pounds a year for ever in return for the receipt of two hundred marks, while the money which was received no longer remains, nor is there clear account to be had how it has been spent. Since these and certain other matters which tend to the harm and manifest prejudice of the college, and the dilapidation of the goods and possessions of the same, are laid to the dean's charge, and it is averred that the premises are done contrary to his oath, the dean declares that he is not guilty of the the breach of his oath, because, as he says, he took no corporal oath, as the statute requires, before or at his induction, to take care for what is profitable and avoid what is unprofitable for the said college, nor did he made a special oath to anyone to be sworn on peril of his soul. Seeing therefore that it is a very parlous thing not only to enter upon the possession of his deanery in utter despite, neglect and setting aside of the form of the statute as regards obtaining possession of the same, but also, after the said dean had actually obtained possession of the deanery aforesaid, to lower notably to a worse estate the goods and rights of the said

32 Statute 90.

33 See statute 74.

college; saving to ourselves and your college all legal remedies in this behalf, lest meanwhile the state of the college be injured by the dean in aught, we enjoin upon the dean that, within eight days next following, he shall take upon his body, according to the words of the statute, before all the canons and ministers of your college, the oath which is written in the 89th and 90th statutes[34] and that from henceforth he shall in no wise undo any presentation which has been decreed with the consent of the more part of the canons to a void benefice which shall be of the patronage of your college, but shall agree that the same be sanctioned with the common seal and take order that it be made. Let him in no wise, under pain of law, burthen the college with any annuity, unless according to the form of the statute'.

Here the injunctions end abruptly. The notes in the visitation book suggest one or two more. There are no directions for the observance of hospitality by the canons, nor is the general question of the grant of corrodies and annuities handled properly. But there was little to add to the document. Apart from the special bearing of its contents, it is of considerable general value. It is strikingly unlike the time-honoured type of injunctions, in that its compiler abandoned the language of the common forms in which it was usual to clothe the special directions of such mandates, expressing himself freely without continual reference to precedent. The *comperta* of the visitation are detailed at unusual length, so that the text of the injunctions is a full guide to the condition of the college and nothing is left to inference. The Latin, moreover, if involved and disfigured by several clerical errors, is careful and good. It bears witness to the classical tastes of the author, who indulges in rhetorical questions for the love of style, fortifies his quotations from canon law with a reference to Sallust, and, in mentioning the Blessed Virgin, substitutes the epithet *diva* for *beata*. Its style is a sign of the times. The classicism of the Italian Renaissance and the papal court had invaded the episcopal chanceries of England. New wine was being poured into the old bottles, and the break-up of the medieval system was imminent. Before twenty-five years had gone, the college for which these injunctions were composed was a thing of the past, and the statutes which Longland had taken such pains to interpret in accordance with the wishes of the founder had become a matter of purely antiquarian interest.

[34] See statute 90.

IX.

LATER HISTORY OF THE COLLEGE

Another visitation of the college was held on 25 Sept., 1528, by Longland's chancellor and commissary Dr. John Rayne, who a few years later was murdered at Horncastle during the Lincolnshire Rising. It was attended by the dean and all the canons, whose evidence was supplemented by that of all the thirteen vicars, seven chantry-priests and three clerks. This, however, did not amount to much, as the complaints of the canons were few, and vicars, chantry-priests and clerks unanimously reported that all was going well. Presumably the concord arranged by the bishop still held good: the dean said that all was well, and of him nothing was said but that his house, according to Peter Swyllington, was out of repair. There was no word of the quarrel which had agitated the college three years before.

Since 1525 there had been three changes in the chapter. Seth Attercliffe had died in 1526, John Whetwode had resigned in 1527 and the death of Peter Gerrard had taken place shortly before the chancellor's visitation. Their respective successors were Robert Boone or Bone, Robert Patchett and John Vincent. No evidence is reported from Boone or Patchett, while Vincent said that all was well. Of the older canons, James Nicholson is not mentioned. In spite of the statement that all the canons were present, it is probable that Boone at any rate was away, for eight of his fellow-canons asserted that he did not reside in college, adding that such absence had never been seen before. Edward Burton and Swyllington said that his house was in bad repair: Burton also said the same thing of the houses of Brokesby, Redyng and Bekensaw. Thomas Wigston said that Boone, Swyllington and the new-comer Vincent did not keep hospitality. Otherwise there was no complaint against any of the canons. Charges, however, were made against the vicars by Bekensaw, John Dale, Gillot and Swyllington. Their attendance in choir was perfunctory: they generally came in and went out almost at once; there was seldom the minimum of two in choir; the two vicars who ought to be present at the Lady mass did not sing, but walked about in the nave. One of them, Richard Sutton, was defamed for illicit relations with a carpenter's wife. The chancellor took note of all these points except, oddly enough, the

charges against Boone, on which there was practical unanimity. The dean's alleged delinquency in matters of repair also passed unnoticed. Corrections consequent upon the injunctions with which the visitation concluded were left to the discretion of the dean. Bekensaw, Brokesby and Redyng were warned to keep their houses in repair, and the canons in general were directed to observe the duty of hospitality, with special injunctions to Swyllington to begin doing so about Christmas, while Vincent was to begin within the year. Swyllington, however, resigned his prebend within two months of the visitation, taking out of it a yearly pension of five pounds.

Lord George Grey resigned the deanery in May 1530, with a pension of twelve pounds. As there was no allusion to the quarrel with lady Hungerford at the visitation of 1528, we may assume that peace reigned upon the surface of the collegiate life, whatever private heart-burnings may have remained behind. All the most active members of the Hungerford faction survived Grey's retirement, and John Vincent, admitted to the tenth prebend in 1528, was presented to it by Sacheverell and one John Fowler, who had obtained a lease of the presentation.[1] At any rate the dominant interest in the college was that of the party which had resisted Grey's autocratic methods of government and of which Thomas Wigston and William Gillot, members of influential and closely associated merchant families in Leicester, were steady supporters. It may well be that Grey, with such partisans gone as he had, the judicious Burton, who lived until 1547, alone excepted, found the society of the canons increasingly uncongenial and preferred a private and retired life. As late as 1545, however, a debt of £10 which he had borrowed from the college remained unpaid. Brokesby, Burton and Nicholson had been securities for its payment. Brokesby appears to have resigned his stall before 1545, when, as Burton and Nicholson had been discharged of their bonds by the college, he was left to bear the entire responsibility of the debt and begged Gillot to use his influence with the dean and chapter on his behalf. His letter, written from his rectory of Asfordby, contains allusions to other transactions in which he considered that he deserved well of the college, and it would certainly appear that his complaint of shabby treatment was not unjustified.[2]

Whether lady Hungerford and her husband continued to live in the Newarke after 1525 it does not clearly appear; but, when

[1] See lists of canons.
[2] The letter is printed in *Wyggeston Hospital Records*, pp. 90-92.

she died, some time before 1534, she obtained her desire to be buried in the collegiate church. Sacheverell followed her there in 1534. His will, bearing date 29 March, and proved on 26 June in that year, shows that, however troublesome and tactless they may have been in their dealings with others, there was a strong tie of mutual affection between them. Sacheverell bequeathed his 'simple body to be buried at the Newarke in Leycestre in the pit or place where my best beloved lady and most true loving wife lieth buried, if I fortune to die within this realm of England. And, if I fortune to die beyond the sea, then I will that such of my true servants as shall fortune to be with me at that time shall cause my heart to be taken forth of my body and to be conveyed to the Newarke at Leicestre aforesaid and to bury it where my true loving wife lieth buried. And, as for my sinful and carrion body, I little force therefor if I die beyond the sea. And, if it fortune me to be buried at the Newarke in Leicestre, as I am fully purposed and intend to be, then I will that mine executors bury my body after the degree that it hath pleased God to call me unto'. There are general directions for payments to priests and others attending his funeral, wherever it might take place, and provisions for the foundation of a chantry at Lubbesthorpe, but no further bequests to the college or individual legacies to its members; and Sacheverell's executor was the well-known doctor of medicine, John Chambre, dean of St. Stephen's, Westminster.[3] We know from the records of the 1525 visitation that lady Hungerford had already made provision for her obit, but there is no indication that her intention of founding a chantry of two priests was ever fulfilled.[4] Sacheverell was a courtier[5] and, had he lived a little longer, might have taken his share in the traffic in monastic property; but he was evidently sincerely attached to old beliefs and practices. One specially interesting feature of his will is the commission to his executors to perform on his behalf certain pilgrimages which he had vowed to undertake but had not accomplished. The shrines mentioned are those of our Lady at Walsingham and Doncaster, the Rood at Garendon and St. Margaret at Ketsby in Lincolnshire.

Various details from the last wills and testaments of members of the college will be found in the footnotes to these chapters.

[3] P.C.C. 15 Hogen.
[4] Thomas Wigston in his will (1537) mentions 'my lady Hungreford preste'; but this was probably a chaplain hired to say mass for her during a certain period after her death.
[5] His will mentions 'the two gilt standing cups' which he had received from Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn as a New Year present.

Special attention, however, may be paid here to the will of Peter Swyllington, who, as we have seen, resigned his stall in 1528 but lived in enjoyment of his pension till 1541. The unreadiness to 'keep hospitality' in the Newarke which probably prompted his retirement may have been due to his preference for the parsonage house at Belgrave, to the rectory of which he had been preferred in 1524 or 1525.[6] To the repair of Belgrave church and its chapels at Birstall and Thurmaston he bequeathed his three best gowns, with 3s. 4d. to the Sepulchre lights in each place and 3s. 4d. to the bridge at Belgrave. It was in the Lady chapel of the collegiate church, however, that he sought hospitality for his body, leaving £5 6s. 8d. for the wages of a priest to celebrate daily for his soul during the year after his death, and 3s. 4d. to the precentor for the provision of the necessary bread, wine and tapers. He gave further directions for the celebration of his funeral as a double obit, *i.e.*, with double the usual payments to those taking part in it, *viz.*, to the dean 4s., to each canon 2s., to each vicar, to the master of the choristers and to each of the four clerks 12d., to each of the chantry-priests and other priests in the college[7] 8d., to each chorister and to the verger 6d., to the clerks of the vestry and 'Symkin awter' and to the bellman, each 2d., to each of the poor folk in the bede-house a penny with 3s. 4d. to the common box, and to the ringers their customary fees. For lights at the funeral he left 2s. and 10s. for five torches, with 2d. to each of the five poor men who carried them. There was a 'harnessed girdle'[8] for the vicars to be sold for their benefit. His best 'counterpoint'[9] was to lie like a cloth 'on the tomb called Mary Darbye tomb where the books lieth'.[10] Another cloth was to be bought for 26s. to cover the table in the revestry where copes and vestments were laid, and a cloth was bequeathed for the revestry altar. Supervision of the will was committed to William Weston, who in 1537 had succeeded Thomas Wigston in the thirteenth stall. Edward Burton, the senior canon, who survived his contemporary Wigston by nearly ten years, received the testator's best furred tippet, and Burton's serving-woman Agnes had 'a pair of beads with

[6] No record of his institution remains, but his predecessor William Derby, prebendary of the third stall in the Newarke, died before 10 Nov., 1524 (see lists of canons), and Swyllington was rector in 1526 (Salter, *Subsidy collected in dio. Lincoln*, p. 106).

[7] Priests hired temporarily for 'annual' masses such as that which Swyllington founded are implied.

[8] *I.e.*, a girdle with silver or other precious adornments and clasps.

[9] *I.e.*, counterpane or coverlet. [10] See also p. 91 above.

silver gauds'. Swyllington's executors were both laymen, but the will was witnessed by one of the vicars, John Ledderlande,[11] by George Hardy, probably another vicar, and Thomas Marshall, who was among the chantry-priests in 1528. To Ledderlande he left 20s., and to Marshall his 'second furred tippet and a cap, and I forgive him 20s. that he borrowed of me upon a pledge of a mazer, and I will that he shall have his mazer again'.[12]

Among testators who bequeathed legacies to the college during its later years, members of the Wigston family hold a prominent place. Their normal place of burial was in St. Martin's church; but John Wigston, the father of the founder of Wyggeston's Hospital, described himself in his will as 'of Newark of Leicester', from which it would appear that, after retiring from business, he and his wife rented one of the canonical houses in the Newarke or shared the house of their son Thomas, prebendary of the thirteenth stall and rector of Houghton-on-the-Hill. His death coincided closely with William's foundation of his chantry: his will, made on 7 Dec., 1512, was proved 17 Feb. following, less than a month after the date of the indenture by which the chantry was established. John Wigston bequeathed his body to be buried in the collegiate church 'as near the chapel of my son William as it may be conveniently'. His funeral was to be on the 'double obit' scale, with the fees graded as already described in the case of Peter Swyllington, but with a few omissions of individuals, including the dean.[13] The usual 'penny dole' to the bedesfolk was extended to every poor man and woman present at the obsequies. The provision of lights and mourning included twenty-four torches and twenty-four tapers, to be carried by as many poor men, with black-hooded gowns for the twenty-four torch-bearers and clothing for the testator's personal friends, the last, with the rewards to the taper-bearers, being left to the discretion of his executors. After the funeral the torches were to be distributed among poor churches in Leicester and the neighbourhood. He left £50 for his yearly obit in the Newarke, £40 for his obit in Leicester abbey and £100 for the foundation of a perpetual chantry in St. Martin's, together with bequests of 6s. 8d. to each of the parish churches and houses of friars in Leicester and to St. Leonard's hospital,

[11] *I.e.*, Litherland. [12] P.C.C. 29 Alenger.

[13] Doubtless because Dr. John Yong, who had been appointed dean early in January, had not come into residence and showed no signs of intending to do so. His appearances in the college must have been very rare.

and 4s. weekly for distribution in pence and half-pence among the poor of the town. His executors were his wife and his three sons: the will was witnessed by three of the canons, Edward Burton, William Derby and Robert Fulshurst, William Fisher, who became the first master of Wyggeston's hospital, and the testator's son-in-law Robert Harwar.[14]

Four other members of the family were buried in the college, Elizabeth, John Wigston's widow, who died early in 1520,[15] William Wigston their son, in 1536,[16] Thomas Wigston, in 1537,[17] and William's widow Agnes, in 1541.[18] The wills of these four have been printed from the original drafts in *Wyggeston Hospital Records*. So far as the college is concerned, the main interest of these documents lies in their funeral directions. Elizabeth Wigston followed her husband's example of a double obit, but halved the number of torches and tapers, giving the tapers to be carried by twelve poor women. She also provided for simultaneous obits on the day of the funeral at all the Leicester churches and at her son Thomas' church of Houghton, as well as at the friaries and St. Leonard's and St. John's hospitals. The tolling of all the church bells informed the town that a mother in Israel had passed away, whose forethought moreover furnished ten pounds for a funeral dinner and other gratuities to her friends.[19] William Wigston with business-like brevity bequeathed £20 for his burial and obsequies and £20 for cloth at 6s. 8d. a yard to be bestowed upon mourning for his relations, leaving details as regards these and the distribution of the penny dole to his executors. For the maintenance of his chantry he left £40. His executors were his widow, his brother Thomas, William Gillot, canon of the Newarke and his kinsman, Robert Patchett, canon of the Newarke, and Walter Browne, then master of his hospital. It is interesting to notice that in the original draft of the will, made five years earlier, sir Richard Sacheverell was appointed supervisor. Sacheverell, however, predeceased William Wigston, and bishop Longland took his place in the final draft.

14 P.C.C. 10 and 20 Fetiplace.

15 Will proved 16 Jan., 1519-20. See *Wyggeston Hosp. Records*, pp. 16-18.

16 Will (P.C.C. 39 Hogen) proved 19 Aug., 1536. See *Wyggeston Hosp. Records*, pp. 30-39.

17 Will (P.C.C. 6 Crumwell) proved 8 Sept., 1537. See *Wyggeston Hosp. Records*, pp. 50, 51.

18 Will (P.C.C. 35 Alenger) proved 11 Oct., 1541. See *Wyggeston Hosp. Records*, pp. 46-49.

19 The will of another woman, Agnes Lemmyngton, widow, dated 23 Aug., 1524, may be noticed. (*Reg. Archid. Leices.*, 1516-1525,, fo. 493). She seems to have been related to the Gillots, and William Gillot was her executor. She desired to be buried in the collegiate church beneath a gravestone and left general directions for her funeral obit at the Newarke and the friaries and her dole for the poor. To each of the bede-folk she gave a penny. Her will was witnessed by three chantry-priests, William Scott, to whom she left a shirt, Thomas Cowper and Nicholas Haywarde. On 8 Sept., 1536, Agnes Wigston made her vow of 'vidual continence and chastity' before bishop Longland in the chapel of his manor house at Buckden (Lincoln Reg. xxvi, fo. 269: printed by Clark, *Lincoln Diocese Documents*, 1450-1544 (E.E.T.S. 1914), pp. 209-10).

The provisions of Agnes Wigston for her funeral were similar to those of her husband, while, like Elizabeth Wigston, she left money for funeral obits and bell-ringing at the parish churches. She also left three pounds to the college, one pound of which was to go to the repair of the ornaments in the chantry chapel, and £5 6s. 8d. as the yearly stipend of a priest to celebrate daily at the Rood altar in St. Martin's. Her executors were Gillot, Patchett and Browne. Thomas Wigston had died four and a half years earlier, after more than thirty-five years' service as a canon of the Newarke. His bequests to those present at his funeral were upon the unusual scale of a quarter as much again as the usual payments at a double obit, but he economised in the matter of lights, omitting torches and confining tapers to six, each weighing four pounds. Two tapers were to be kept burning on his tomb for two years, while for the same period a priest was to celebrate in the chantry chapel for the usual wage of £5 6s. 8d. a year. There were also bequests for a funeral obit in St. Martin's, but no mention is made of the testator's church at Houghton. He appointed as his executor William Gillot, with his younger brother Roger Wigston as supervisor. Roger, whose will was proved 3 Feb., 1542-3,[20] had succeeded to the commercial interests of the family in Coventry and was buried at Wolston, where he was squire, between Rugby and Coventry. He bequeathed nothing to the Newarke, but left 40s. to Wyggeston's hospital and 20s. to St. Martin's, 'where I was christened'. Neither William nor Agnes Wigston put him among their executors, and a codicil to William's will indicates that William, who had stood surety for him when he was in office at the Staple of Calais, was uncertain whether his bond would be cancelled and safeguarded his executors against loss by a conditional restriction of Roger's share in his bequests.

When lord George Grey retired in 1530, his successor in

20 P.C.C. (F) 15 Spert.

the deanery was Robert Bone, or Boone, who, four years previously, upon the death of Seth Attercliffe, had succeeded to the fifth prebend and whose failure to reside was noted by his fellow-canons at the 1528 visitation. The old practice of electing one of the canons was thus adopted in preference to the formality of providing the Crown nominee with a prebend for a few days before election, a custom which was a mere evasion of the statutes. While it seems strange that so persistent a non-resident was chosen, it is possible that, after their experience with Grey, the canons saw some advantage in a non-resident dean. Bone himself, like his predecessors, was a clerk of some preferment: like Chauntre, he had a prebend in Salisbury cathedral[21]: he was rector of Hanslope, in Buckinghamshire,[22] and in 1538 was presented by the Crown to the church of Elmley in Worcestershire.[23] Of his fellow-canons at this date it is enough to say here that all held livings, some two, most of which were scattered about Leicestershire, while a few were in somewhat more distant parts. Richard Brokesby, with the Leicestershire churches of Asfordby and Saxelby, held the important deanery of the royal free chapel in Hastings castle; while Richard Fowler combined his canonry and the treasurership of the college with the not very lucrative deanery of the neighbouring college of St. Mary.

There is some evidence that the college prospered under Bone's rule. Layton, visiting religious houses *more suo,* wrote to Cromwell that 'the college of Newarke here in Lecestre of the kinges foundation, with an hospitale, is welle keppede, and honeste men therein, iij hundredth poundes in ther trezarewre howse before hande'.[24] Whether this was a hint to

21 The sub-deacon prebend of Lyme and Halstock. It is not known when he obtained it: he vacated it at his death in 1554 (Jones, *Fasti Eccl. Sar.*, p. 399).

22 *Reports and Papers,* xxx, 476. In his will, proved 11 Dec., 1554 (P.C.C. 16 More) he styles himself parson of Hanslope and leaves bequests to his curates there and at the chapel of Castlethorpe. He also mentions the churches of Belgrave and Aylestone, but does not seem to have held either. It seems evident from the terms of the will that he was a residentiary at Salisbury, and, although he directed his burial to take place wherever he might happen to die, directions for distributions at his funeral show that he expected to die at Salisbury, and William White, a Salisbury freemason, had undertaken to 'lay a fair marble stone upon the place where I do lie' for the sum of £4. A bequest of 20s. to the poor of St. James' parish in Taunton indicates that he was a native of that place.

23 *Lett. and Papers Hen. VIII,* xiii (1), p. 328, no. 887 (22).

24 *Lett. and Papers Hen. VIII,* ix, 341, no. 1005; Wright, *Three Chapters of Letters,* etc. (Camden Soc.), p. 93.

Cromwell that spoil lay ready to his hand here is not certain. The time was not yet ripe for the suppression of colleges. Moreover, the Newarke college was a royal foundation, where the king's ancestors lay buried, and Henry VIII expressed some affection for it. Its church was named among those which, at the time of the suppression of the monasteries, were singled out as suitable cathedral churches for new dioceses.[25] On 12 August, 1534, the dean and thirty members of the foundation signed their acknowledgment of the royal supremacy.[26] But, during the years immediately following the dissolution of the monasteries, the smaller colleges which were not the seats of cathedral bodies were clearly doomed. Some anticipated their fall by taking advantage of the intermediate act of parliament which empowered them to surrender to the Crown. In 1545 the first Chantry act was passed, which put into the king's hands, as a source of revenue for his wars, the colleges and chantries liable to the payment of tenths. This involved the college itself, and the endowed chantries in its church, *viz.,* those founded by Mary Hervy, William Bedale and Richard Elvet for one chaplain each, and those founded by William Wigston and John of Gaunt, each for two chaplains.

The certificates returned in pursuance of this act have been printed in full elsewhere,[27] and a brief summary of their contents is sufficient. The gross annual income of the college was derived chiefly from the rents paid by the farmers of appropriated churches and of the landed property of the college. The appropriated churches were Duffield in Derbyshire (£38), Hannington in Wiltshire (£15), Higham Ferrers (£25), Irchester (£24) and Raunds (£26) in Northamptonshire, Preston in Lancashire (£46 2s.), Bradford in Yorkshire (£50), and Llanelly, Llandyfaelog and Llangyndeyrn[28] in Carmarthenshire (£104), producing £328 2s. The manor and rectory of Cransley, Northants, pro-

25 *Ibid.,* xiv (ii), 152, no. 430. It may be noted that in 1526, the year after Longland's visitation, Longland appears to have proposed sending a master of the choristers from Newarke college to Wolsey's newly-founded college at Oxford. Wolsey writes 'I thank you for your trouble, and leave it to your discretion' (*ibid.,* iv, 1097, no. 2457).

26 *Ibid.,* vii, 440, no. 1121 (20).

27 *R. and P.* xxx, 515-527.

28 Called in the certificate 'llueth lloid' Vallok' et llankyrdern'. Pembrey church, which appears in *Val. Ecc.,* is not mentioned; but Llangyndeyrn was merely a chapel of Llandyfaelog, and possibly the clerk responsible for the peculiar distortion of the Welsh placenames, knowing that there were three parish churches, put down the three names which occurred to him in this connexion.

duced £12 9s. 1¾d. Property in Leicester, including the revenues of the hospitals of St. John and St. Leonard (£45 12s. 5½d), the lands and tenements called 'Water dixson' (£4), the profits of Close meadow, with its water-mill and windmill and the hay from Bedehouse meadow (£30 18s. 5d.), the Town obit lands (£24 17s. 1½d.), miscellaneous property in Leicester (£6 7s. 3d.) and in Knighton (£1 13s. 4d.), came to £113 8s. 7d. Manors in other parts of England produced annual rents as follows:— Chester-by-the-water (£18 15s.) and Wollaston (£49 8s. 1½d.) in Northamptonshire; Kempsford (£95 3s. 1d.), Southrop (£16 17s. 8d.) and Chedworth (£9 0s. 3d.) in Gloucestershire; Hannington (£59 5s. 2d.), Inglesham (£6 10s.) and Ashley (£16 14s. 1d.) in Wiltshire; Chellaston in Derbyshire (£17 12s. 2½d.); Draycote in Warwickshire (£14 12s. 8d.); and Elmsall in Yorkshire (£17 10s.): £321 8s. 3d. in all. Further items, amounting to £80 16s. 6d., came from rents in London (£10 9s. 10d.) and in Knuston, Northants (£1 13s. 4d.), an annuity of £66 13s. 4d. out of the honour of Tutbury, and £2 yearly for the exhibition of a chorister on William Derby's foundation. The whole income was made up thus:

	£	s.	d.
Rectories of churches	328	2	0
Property in Leicester	113	8	7
Manors	321	8	3
Cransley rectory and manor	12	9	1¾
Miscellaneous rents and pensions ...	80	16	6
	£856	4	5¾

The deductions from this gross sum were reckoned upon the following payments:

	£	s.	d.
Miscellaneous rents	6	15	5½
Stipends of twelve resident canons at £13 6s. 8d. each	160	0	0
Stipends of thirteen vicars at £4 13s. 4d. each	60	13	4
Stipend of the organist and master of the choristers	10	0	0
Stipends of four clerks, one verger, and six choristers at £2 13s. 4d. each	29	6	8

	£	s.	d.
Stipend of William Derby's chorister	2	0	0
Payments to a hundred poor men in the bedehouse at 7d. each a week, and to the ten women attendants at 10d. each a week	176	3	0
Payment for woollen cloth for fifty tabards yearly, each poor man receiving a new garment every two years	10	0	0
Alms to the bedesmen on Good Friday	1	0	0
Mary Hervy's bequest of 5d. a year to each poor man, called 'fyve peny money', with another bequest in alms of 6d. a year	4	11	8
Porridge money for the bedesmen ...	0	12	10
Fuel for the bedesmen	6	0	0
Fees of officers and servants of the college	41	16	8
Synodals, procurations, etc. ...	42	1	4
Money distributed among members of the college on obit-days	66	13	8
Paid to the tenth	59	10	9
Stipends to chantry-priests (*viz.*, £5 6s. 8d. to Mary Hervy's, £4 6s. 8d. to William Bedale's, £6 13s. 4d. to John of Gaunt's two, and £14 to William Wigston's two priests, with £3 to the priest in St. John's hospital)	33	6	8
Dividend of Town obit lands between the dean, canons and vicars in proportion	24	17	1
Various payments in repairs, etc. ...	66	13	4
	£802	2	5½

In the certificate this sum is stated as £842 2s. 6d.;[29] but £40 of this appears to be unaccounted for. It will be noted, however, that the annual payments of £26 13s. 4d. to the dean, £8 to the provost, and £5 6s. 8d. to the treasurer are not men-

[29] The 6d. is probably due to the reckoning of the Town obit lands money in the original certificate at its proper value of £24 17s. 1½d. It should be remembered that the certificates, as we possess them, are copies made in the Augmentation office, and show no signs of verification.

tioned; and it seems likely that these, amounting to £40, were omitted by error from the certificate. This, however, does not explain the omission of £2 due to the chanter in addition to his prebend. Assuming that the sum of £842 2s. 6d. is correct, the balance of the college in 1545-6, when the certificate was returned, was £14 1s. 11¾d.[30]

As early as July, 1545, covetous eyes were being cast upon the college. On 6 July Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, afterwards duke of Somerset, writing to sir William Paget, expressed his desire to have a grant of it. If he might have it, he would ask for nothing more: its lands lay near his house in Wiltshire, and it would therefore be 'more commodious' for him than another of greater value.[31] The King, however, as it appeared, was not willing to 'deface' any of his great colleges, although he might alter their foundation in the future. Hertford therefore abandoned his petition and went back to an earlier suit for the college of Ottery St. Mary, which had already been granted to him, but had been abandoned by him in favour of the Newarke college. He was not prepared, however, to pay all that he had promised for the grant, and strove to obtain a substantial reduction and exemption from tenths, while, on 27 July, having apparently little hope of this bargain, he asked that the Cornish college of Glasney might be thrown in to give him some clear profit out of Ottery.[32]

In the later part of 1545, Richard Baldewyn, chaplain to princess Mary, was presented to the sixth prebend, and, as late as March, 1546-7, two lessees of the ninth prebend presented John Hurtt to it.[33] But at Christmas 1547, the protector Somerset's parliament passed the act which, more thorough than the practically inoperative act of 1545, and drafted with a definitely protestant bias, put an end to all colleges and chantries, and, in fact, to all endowments for masses for the dead. The protector under whose auspices this measure came into being was, of course, the Hertford whom we have just seen trafficking in collegiate property with his royal brother-in-law. By the terms of

30 The certificates in the *Val. Ecc.* of 1534-5 have been summed up in *R. and P.* xxx, 475. See notes on lists of canons for some details from these.

31 *Lett. and Papers Hen. VIII,* xx (1), 552, no. 1121.

32 *Ibid.*, 609, 635, nos. 1222, 1284. The gross value of the college of Ottery at its suppression in 1545 was £338 2s. 9d.; the net value £303 2s. 9d. (Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St. Mary,* p. 10).

33 See lists of canons and prebendaries.

this act all chantry foundations ceased to exist at Easter, 1548, their profits falling to the Crown, which thus, as in the case of the monasteries, acquired a vast amount of landed property wherewith to tempt purchasers. The specious proposals of the act to augment the endowments of preachers and further education out of the revenues of the forfeited lands had no very far-reaching result; and the little that was done for education, apart from the gift of the royal name to schools which Edward VI can hardly be said to have founded, bears no comparison with the marketing of lands and rents with which the Crown met its current expenses and founders of estates prepared their future fortunes.

Thus Henry of Lancaster's college came to a quiet end. The bedehouse still remained, to receive a new constitution and a new name at a later date, and to survive to our own time as the Trinity hospital. The members of the college were pensioned off; and, as the dean and canons were for the most part well-to-do men, with benefices elsewhere, they at any rate suffered little by the change.[34] The lands of the college were bought up in parcels by middlemen, who traded between the actual purchaser and the Augmentation office or the Treasury. Some details of these sales, relating to property in and round Leicester, and including a valuation of the houses in the close, have been printed as an appendix to *The Chantry Certificates for Leicestershire,* in vol. xxx of *Reports and Papers.*[35] The dwellings in the close were eventually granted to Henry Grey, third marquess of Dorset,[36] whose agents were John Beamound and William Gyes. The houses had already been rated in 1546, when the deanery was valued at forty shillings, each of the canons' lodgings at two marks, and the three chantry-houses, *viz.*, John of Gaunt's, Elvet's and Hervy's, and Wigston's at ten shillings each. In the new valuation, the deanery was estimated at thirty shillings, each canon's house at twenty shillings, and the chantry-houses at ten shillings each as before. The gate-house, called in 1546 'a certen lodgyng betwene the gates' and assessed at twenty shillings, was assessed for the purchaser at ten shillings. In 1546 the list concludes with 'the lodgyng betwene the Churche

34 Their pensions are noted in the Receiver's account which follows. The dean had a pension of £20 a year for life, while each of the canons had £10 similarly.

35 *R. and P.* xxx, 536-43, 544-7.

36 Afterwards duke of Suffolk, nephew of lord George Grey, formerly dean of the Newarke college, and father of lady Jane Grey.

and the great steeple', rated at five shillings. There is no mention of this in 1548; but the other buildings of the college, the treasury, cloister, library and all else within the site are rated at an inclusive value of twenty shillings.[37]

It is not the purpose of the present writer to pursue the disintegration of the property, and trace it through its various owners till our own day. It will be sufficient to add here a summary English version of the first account rendered after the suppression of the college by the receiver appointed by the Crown,[38] when much of the property had already passed by Crown grants into other hands. It is entitled 'An account by Richard Cupper, gent., receiver of the possessions, etc., appointed under seal 4 Nov., 2 Edward VI, of the receipts and costs of the possessions of the lately dissolved college of Newarke, from Easter, 2 Edward VI, to Michaelmas, 3 Edward VI, *i.e.*, for a year and a half'. There were no arrears, as this was the first account since the college had come into the king's hands.[39]

The revenues of the college are given first, under the heading *Officium collegii,* and are as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Rents, etc., of the hospitals of St. John the Baptist and St. Leonard, with obit-rents in Leicester	103	0	10
Lands and tenements late of Walter Dyotson[40]	8	0	0
Rents, etc., of the grange and mills of Leicester, received by the collector from Robert Jones, collector and farmer there, from the outgoings of his office within the period of the account, together with 54s. 10½d. of outgoings and profits of hay coming from the meadow called bedehouse medowe, anno ii Edw. vi	46	14	10½
Lands, etc., in the college, late of the provost	9	10	10½
Towne obitt landes	32	15	9¼

37 *R. and P.* xxx, 529-30, 538-40.

38 P. R. O. Duchy of Lanc., Ministers' Accounts, bdle 224, no. 3574.

39 The period covered is from Easter 1548, to Michaelmas 1549. Unless a longer or shorter period is specified in the summary, the amounts mentioned are to be taken as for a year and a half.

40 Prebendary of the tenth prebend 1476-1506.

	£	s.	d.
Lands, etc., within the close	22	5	0
Lands, etc., for the maintenance of obits and lights in divers churches in Leicestershire	0	15	7½
Lands, etc., given to find Edmund Potterton, one of the choristers of the said college	3	0	0
Lands, etc., in Chester-by-the-water, together with 30s. rent from a messuage in Knighton and 10s. from a toft called Provoste close in Leicester	29	0	0
Wollaston: Robert Firman, collector	85	8	4
Knuston: Agnes Clerke, widow, farmer	2	10	0
Knighton, together with 33s. 4d. rent: Thomas Foster and Robert Foster, farmers	2	10	0
Cransley	27	7	3½
Chellaston, with 17s. 7½d. from the outgoings of the quarries (*minerarum*) called 'les plaister pyttes'[41] Christopher Eire, bailiff and collector	28	2	10½
Draycote	23	2	3
In London	15	14	9
In London also, the messuage called 'le Angel' or 'the Angell with the hope', and the garden adjoining, late in the occupation of William Halome, inn-holder, in the parish of St. Clement Danes without the bars of the new Temple	—	—	—
Four cottages or shops, late in the several tenure or occupation of Richard Colstocke, painter, William Warren, yeoman, John Bryght, butcher, and William Strynger or Batmanson, in the same parish ...	—	—	—
A messuage with a garden and stable in the occupation of Leonard Rede, esq., in the same parish	—	—	—

41 *I.e.*, the celebrated alabaster quarries, from which the gypsum, so frequently used for monuments and statuary in the later middle ages, was procured for the workshops at Nottingham and other local centres.

	£	s.	d.
A capital messuage called Chester place or 'the Cage', with stables, gardens, orchards, etc., late in the occupation of William Rawlynson, 'plaisterer', in the parish of St. Mary 'de Stronde'	—	—	—
The messuage called 'the Swanne' or 'the Swanne with the Hope', and all that garden and way or vennel called 'the Carte lane', late in the occupation of Henry Cooke, brewer, in the same parish; together with all messuages, etc., in the said parishes belonging to the said late college, extended at £10 10s. 0d. and granted by king Edward VI to William Gyes and Michael Purfey,[42] their heirs and assigns, to hold as of the manor of Heather, Leics., by fealty only, by charter dated Leighs, 6 August, anno ii ...	—	—	—[43]
Lands, etc., in Kempsford: William Yorke, bailiff and collector [as for the places in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire which follow]	151	11	$3\frac{3}{4}$
Hannington	108	11	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Inglesham	11	5	0
Southrop	25	17	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Chedworth	12	1	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Ashley	28	12	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Elmsall: John Awen, bailiff and collector	26	5	0
Rectory of Duffield: Henry Sacheverell, farmer	63	6	8
Rectory of Higham Ferrers: Lawrence Wasshyngton, farmer ...	37	10	0

[42] These middlemen's names are found in the particulars of sales of the college lands alluded to above. Michael Purefey or Purefoy was one of the lessees of the ninth prebend in 1546-7.

[43] The account says *Summa, null.*, as this property had been granted away for fealty only, and produced no rent to the duchy of Lancaster.

	£	s.	d.
Rectory of Preston in Amounderness, together with £8 of the outgoings of tithe of grain and hay within the demesne of Lee (*i.e.*, Lea) in the parish of Preston, and 10s. rent from three burgages: Robert Hesketh, knight, farmer; for two years	92	4	0
Rectory of Bradford: Rosamund Tempest, widow, farmer	75	0	0
Rectory of 'lloid llanneth Vallok and llankyndern'; William Morgan, gent., farmer;[44] for two years ...	208	0	0
Rectory of Irchester: Edward Mountague, kt., farmer [as also of Raunds]	36	0	0
Rectory of Raunds	39	0	0
Rectory of Cransley: Harold Kynseman, farmer	27	0	0
Annuity of £100[45] from the receipts of the honour of Tutbury, from the outgoings of an annuity of 100 marks granted by king Henry VII	100	0	0
Price of the goods of divers poor folk, sold in the year after their death ...	—	—	—

To these sums are added the income of other Leicester foundations which, under the Act of 1547, had passed to the Crown, *viz.*, the college of St. Mary by the Castle (£37 3s $2\frac{1}{4}$d.),

[44] A further confusion of the corrupt forms already noticed in connexion with the certificate of 1546. No. 3572 in the same bundle of Minister's accounts, is the account of William Morgan, gent., and Richard ap Evan Meredydd for two years' rent of the rectories of 'Llannelth', llandavalock et Pembraye in Wallia', which thus gives the names of the three parish churches with approximate accuracy. It appears from this memorandum that the farm of the rectories had been granted to them by the dean and chapter, 1 March, 1522-3, for a period of five years from the ensuing Midsummer, with renewal every five years for a term of thirty years, presentation to the vicarages being reserved to the dean and canons. The annual rent was £104, the farmers being allowed 40s. for their expenses in conveying it to Leicester at Midsummer. This business is probably that referred to in the course of Longland's visitation (see p. 166 above). At Michaelmas, 1549, two year's rent was due, as the rent had not been collected at the Midsummer of 1548, after the suppression of the college.

[45] *I.e.*, 150 marks for the year and a half.

the guild of St. Margaret (£25 14s. 2¼d.), the chantry or guild of Corpus Christi (£30 7s. 8½d), and, from a greater distance, the chantry of Castle Donington (£12 7s. 0d.). The whole sum is given thus:—

	£	s.	d.
Perquisites of court, etc.	0	6	2
Outgoings of Bedehouse medowe ...	2	14	10½
'Lez plaister pyttes'	0	17	7½
Rents and farms	1568	1	4½

It is not precisely clear how the sum of rents and farms was brought to this total, as the actual sum, reckoning the small additional sums mentioned in the course of the account, appears to be £1,599 18s. 1d., and, if St. Mary's college and the other external chantries are deducted, the gross amount of the college property accounted for during this period is £1,494 6s. 0d. It should not be forgotten, of course, that the account extends over more than a year; and, if we compare, *e.g.*, the proceeds of the farmed-out rectories in this account with their proceeds in 1548, we shall see that two years' rent is given in the cases of Preston and the distant Welsh churches; Irchester, Raunds, Higham and Bradford are charged with rent for a year and a half; while the rent of Duffield is for more than a year and a half.

We now turn to the out-payments, which form the first part of the debit side of the account. These are classed under heads as below:—

	£	s.	d.
(1) Rents Resolutes.			
To John Oldeham, collector of the rents called Towne obitt landes, for the seventh prebend 2s., for the eighth 6s. 3d., for Skevington's prebend [i.e., the fifth] 11s. 8d.	0	19	11
To the bailiff of Leicester from lands, etc., in Leicester, £4 9s. 3½d.; for a tenement called 'le Greyhound', 1s. 7d.; from lands, etc., in Leicester, 10s. 10d.	5	1	8½
To Thomas Vowe, constable of Leicester castle, for 'Castelfee' at 3d. a year for two years	0	0	6

	£	s.	d.
To the mayor and burgesses of Higham Ferrers for seven burgages in Higham at 3s. 2d. a year, for two whole years	0	6	4
	£6	8	5½
(2) Wages of poor folk in the bedehouse.			
Money paid to John Willok, master of the said bedesmen or poor folk, for the wages of a hundred poor folk in the bedehouse and the wages of ten women waiting on them to prepare their food daily and in time of their sickness; to every man 7d., and to every woman 10½d. a week, to be paid always on Friday	250	13	6[46]
Paid to Geoffrey Helmynge for 200 ells of woollen cloth bought of him for the poor folks' livery, to be given to them by the said master when it shall seem most expedient	10	0	0
Paid to the poor on Good Friday, by the founder's ordinance	1	0	0
'Five penny money' paid to the poor praying for the soul of Mary Hervy by her ordinance	2	1	8
'Le sixe penny money'	2	10	0
Paid to the sisters of St. John's hospital for fuel	0	7	4
Paid to the lame and blind poor lying in beds in the bedehouse	1	0	0
Paid to the sisters of St. John's folk, *viz.*, ½d. each a week to be distributed among them, amounting to 3s. 4¼d. (*sic*) a week	10	16	8
	£278	9	2

[46] These sums, before the suppression of the college, had been paid out to the treasurer for distribution. The master of the bedehouse now takes his place, while the livery money is paid directly to the tradesman who makes the habits.

	£	s.	d.
(3) Fees, wages and rewards.			
To William Yorke, bailiff in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, £6 3s. 0d. yearly, granted by letters patent of the dean and canons, 22 June, 1535: fees for two years	12	6	0
To Walter Hungerford, knight, steward of the manors in Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, 40s. yearly: fee for a year and a half	3	0	0
To William Morgan, gent., farmer of the rectories in Wales, 40s. yearly for carriage of the yearly rent of £104 from Wales to the college: fee for two years	4	0	0
To Richard Cupper, gent., receiver in Leicestershire, holding the office by grant of William, lord Pagett, knight, chancellor of the duchy, with assent of the [king as] duke, his wage or fee of 40 marks a year: for a year and a half	40	0	0
	£59	6	0

(4) Purchase of straw, etc., for strewing divers churches which belonged to the said the late college.

	£	s.	d.
To the farmer of the rectory of Raunds, 4s. a year: for two years	0	8	0
To the farmer of the rectory of Higham Ferrers and Shilston (*i.e.*, Chelveston), 5s. a year: for two years ...	0	10	0
To the farmer of the rectory of Irchester, 3s. 4d. a year: for two years	0	6	8
	£1	4	8

	£	s.	d.
(5) Necessary expenses.			
To John Wyllock for twelve gallons of oil to be spent in the bedehouse ...	0	16	0
To the same for bread and wine for the Lord's Supper, bought by him and spent in the bedehouse	0	1	0
To John Willock, master of the bedehouse, for 2100 fagots bought by him and delivered in the said house, with carriage	4	7	9
To the same for coals bought by him, etc., *viz.*, 20 wain-loads (*plaustur'*) or cart-loads (*carect'*) at 4s. the cart-load, with carriage	4	0	0
	£9	4	9

(6) Repairs.

To account rendered by Nicholas Reignoldes, the king's collector of the rents, etc., of the hospitals of St. John and St. Leonard, as regards the mending of divers defects of the houses in roofing and daubing, plastering and thatching (*tam tegulacione et daubatura gipsatione et stramin' coopertura*), and the purchase of mortar, sand, burned lime, baked tiles (*coctilium*), clay, roof-tiles (*tegule*), with the wages of the mason (*cementarii*), plasterer (*gipsatoris*), tiler (*tegulatoris*), carpenter (*fabri lignarii*), and other workers, as by his bill	4	12	4
To repairs made by the farmer of the grange and mills of Leicester, in purchase of half a cart-load of lime, one cart-load of sand, one of timber (*tigni*), 300 tiles or shingles (*tegularium*),[47] and for three trees set			

[47] The *tegule*, however, are probably the local stone slates used for roofing.

	£	s.	d.
upon the barn there (*applicat' super horreum ibidem*),[48] with the wages of the tiler, carpenter (*fabri lignarii*), plasterer and blacksmith (*fabri ferrarii*), as by bill	1	9	3
To the mending of divers houses, very ruinous in the same place, paid by John Oldeham, *viz.*, in the purchase of divers cart-loads of clay, and for sand, mortar, lime, shingles, baked tiles, nails and beams (*tignis*), with the wages of the roof-mender (*sartitectoris*), dauber (*argillatoris*),[49] plasterer, mason, blacksmith and carpenter, as by bill	2	4	7
To repairs by the farmer and collector of Wollaston, in the purchase of 1000 tiles or shingles, lime, clay, mortar, sand and timber with carriage, and the wages of the dauber, mason, carpenter, tiler and sawyer, as by two bills	5	19	8
To repairs upon the manor of Chellaston by Christopher Eyre, bailiff of the manor, in the purchase of six cart-loads of timber, five of straw, and for beams and little nails (*claviculis*), as by bill	2	10	0
To repairs upon the manor of Kempsford by the bailiff, in the purchase of four cart-loads of great stones to build a wall, some cart-loads of mortar, 8000 tiles or shingles, 5000 little nails, 600 nails called 'tacke nayles', 200 great nails, two bushels of wooden pins (*assicule*) called 'Tyle pynnes', twenty-one bundles of wood, four bushels of lime, with wages and board of the tiler, dauber, carpenter, sawyer and plasterer, as by bill	7	11	10

[48] Apparently trunks of trees used as tie-beams for the roof.

[49] Cf. the word 'archil' still used for the wash with which the houses are covered in certain districts.

	£	s.	d.
Repairs upon the manor of Hannington by the bailiff, in the purchase of straw, roof-material (*sartitecti*) and clay, with wages of the roofer and dauber	0	10	0
Repairs by the farmer of the rectory of Higham Ferrers, in the purchase of 1000 tiles or shingles, 1050 little nails, half a bushel of 'tyle pynnes', eight bushels of lime, three bundles of wood, three small beams and planks (*tigilla et asses*), with wages of the mason and his man and of the carpenter and tiler, working at and mending divers defects of the cottages and houses there, and of the barn, granary and gates ...	2	5	8
To repairs by the farmer of the rectory of 'llangederyn, llandavalok and Penbraye',[50] in the repair and reconstruction of the chancel at Llangyndeyrn, and in the purchase of timber with carriage, 119s.; of eight bundles of wood, 3s. 4d.; 4000 little nails, 7s.; 3000 tiles or shingles, 12s.; for lime, 6s. 8d.; for tiling (*imbricio*), 3s. 8d.; with wages of the carpenter, mason and tiler, altogether £3 10s. 0d.; with mending of the chancel at Llandyfaelog, 17s. 8d. Altogether or jointly, as by bill ...	12	19	4
To repairs by the farmer of the rectory of Irchester, in the purchase of four cart-loads of lime, one of tiles or shingles, six of thatch (*tegminis*); and for timber, 22 small beams (*tigillis*), reeds (*arundinibus*),[51] beams (*asseribus*) for the construction of a door there, with sawing of the			

[50] Another version of the Welsh names, with Llanelly left out. It will be noticed that the three rectories are always treated as one.

[51] This seems to be the word implied : it is written *arnidemibus*.

	£	s.	d.
same; 200 nails; with wages of the mason, blacksmith, tiler and carpenter, working at and mending divers chambers and [some other building, written *vlstram*[52]] there, as by bill	2	0	10
To repairs by John Hynde, collector of the guild of St. Margaret, in mending divers defects of the buildings, as by bill[53]	0	9	6
To repairs by the collector of the guild of Corpus Christi in the mending of divers defects of the buildings and in renewal of doorways; in the purchase of three bushels of lime, and one cart-load of clay, with wages of the workmen, as by bill	0	13	3½
To repairs by John Willock in the bede-house, in mending the oven and chimney there and in daubing and tiling where expedient, with wages of the tiler and other workmen, as by the auditor's book	0	6	3
	£43	12	6½

(7) Pensions to members of the late college.[54]

	£	s.	d.
One of £20 a year for life, granted by letters patent of 20 Dec., 1548, to Robert Bone, late dean	30	0	0
Twelve of £10 a year to Robert Pachett, Nicholas Bradshawe, Christopher Marshall, Anthony Skevynton, Richard Bawdwyn, John Vincent, John Leigh, John Hurte, Richard Fowler, Gabriel Reigne,			

[52] The word is evidently an error. The late Rev. W. J. B. Kerr has suggested that two letters may have been transposed, and that the word originally was 'lustram' (*lustramentum=latrina*).

[53] This and the net item do not refer to the Newarke college and it is difficult to see why they are included here.

[54] These, calculated for a year and a half, have been somewhat re-arranged and grouped, for convenience and brevity.

	£	s.	d.
William Gyllot and William Weston, late canons and prebendaries[55]	180	0	0
Thirteen of £6 a year to William Hethcott, Thomas Bexwyk, Richard Blakewyn, Robert Nangle, Thomas Mylner, Thomas Westous, John Myddleton, William Borrowe, Thomas Harryson, vicars, and Thomas Marshall, Richard Pedder, John Hardy and William Blakwall, chantry-priests[56]	117	0	0
One of £6 a year to Ralph Wynter, vicar[57]: for half a year only ...	3	0	0
Eight of £5 a year to William Maunesfelde, William Wylson, George Scaresbrydge, Thomas Harecourte, chantry-priests,[58] to William Raunde and Harry Grenes, incumbents of the late guild of Corpus Christi in St. Martin's, and to John Hynde and William Shipton, chantry-priests in St. Margaret's	60	0	0

The later part of this last entry refers to the foundations distinct from the college which are included in the account, and the final pensions are those of the clergy of the older and smaller college of St. Mary of the Castle, *viz.*, four pensions of £4 3s. 4d., to Thomas Arden, John Palfreyman, William Kyttes and Robert Weston (£25), six pensions of £2 17s. 3d. to John Parke, George[59] Charlett, Richard Benton, Richard Hyde, Thomas Rigmayden

[55] Here re-arranged in order of their stalls.

[56] Marshall and Blakwall were the two chaplains of John of Gaunt's chantry in 1546 (*R. and P.* xxx, 526). Hardy was one of Wigston's chantry-priests (*ibid.*, 525), while Pedder had presumably taken the place of the other, Humphrey Gillot.

[57] Only nine vicars out of thirteen are accounted for. But the four chantry-priests in the list were, no doubt, vicars as well, following the custom prevalent at Lincoln and other cathedral churches.

[58] Wylson was the chaplain of Mary Hervy's chantry in 1546 (*ibid.*, 525), and Harecourte served in St. John's hospital (*ibid.*, 523, where he is called Hornecourte). Maunesfelde probably was the retired chantry-priest of Bedale's foundation. Scaresbrydge or Scarisbrick, whose name is not mentioned in 1546, was Elvet's chantry-priest in 1534-5 (*R. and P.* xxx, 477).

[59] *Sic*: his name seems to have been really Gregory.

and John Borrowe, canons and prebendaries (£25 15s. 3d.) and one of £2 17s. 3d., paid only for a year, to Thomas Hodson, prebendary. The pensions, therefore, for all the foundations concerned, reached a total of £443 12s. 6d., of which £390 went in payments to the clergy of the Newarke.

(8) Synodals, procurations and pensions from divers rectories.

	£	s.	d.
From Raunds: pension of £5 to the dean and chapter of Lincoln, £7 10s. 0d.; pension of 20s. to the vicar of Raunds, for two years, £2; pension of 5s. to the archdeacon of Northampton, for two years, 10s. ...	10	0	0
Irchester: synodals and procurations at 7s. 7d., for two years	0	15	2
Higham Ferrers: pension to the warden of the church, consisting of the price of two quarters of wheat, 16s., two quarters of malt, 9s. 8d., two quarters of oats, 6s. 8d., two quarters peas, 12s., for two years	2	4	4
Hannington: pension of 20s. to the vicar for two years, £2; pensions for one year to the bishop of Salisbury, 6s. 8d., to the archdeacon of Wiltshire, 4s., to the dean and chapter of Salisbury, 6s. 8d.; synodals and procurations for a year, 7s. 5½d. ...	3	4	9½
Cransley: synodals, etc., for one year, 10s. 7d.; pension of 13s. 4d. to the bishop of Lincoln, for two years, £1 6s. 8d.	1	17	3
Wollaston: rent out of a horse-mill to the chaplain of Kingsthorpe by Northampton,[60] 20s. a year, for two years	2	0	0
St. John's hospital, Leicester: pension of 10s. to the bishop of Lincoln, for two years, £1; pension of 5s. to the archdeacon of Leicester, for two years, 10s.	1	10	0

[60] Probably the chaplain of Trinity or St. David's hospital.

	£	s.	d.
To the dean and chapter of Lincoln: pension (of £2 13s. 4d., source unspecified) for two years	5	6	8
Duffield: pensions of £2 to the bishop of Chester,[61] of £1 6s. 8d. to the dean and chapter of Lichfield, for one year; of 14s. 3d. to the archdeacon of Derby, for two years, £1 8s. 6d.	4	15	2
Cransley: pension of £8 to the vicar, for a year and more	10	13	4
To Thomas Raven, collector of the late chapel of St. Anne of Bulwick, Northants,[62] out of the manor of Wollaston, £3 6s. 8d., for a year and a half	5	0	0
To the bishop of Peterborough, for visitation, out of the receipts of Higham Ferrers	0	6	8
Preston: pension of £1 6s. 8d. to the archdeacon of Richmond, for one year	1	6	8
	£49	0	0½

(9) Annuities.

To John Butler, gent., granted under seal of the dean and canons, 20 Jan., 1546-7, five marks for life, payable in two portions at Michaelmas and Lady day: for a year and a half ...	5	0	0
To Thomas Bone, king's yeoman,[63] £6 13s. 4d., as above	10	0	0
To Edward Gryffyn, esq., granted 20 Nov., 1546, five marks as above: for two years	6	13	4

[61] *I.e.*, the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, commonly called the bishop of Chester. The new diocese of Chester, however, was already in existence.

[62] For this chapel see *R. and* P. xxxi, 96, 99, 115, 141-2.

[63] Probably brother to the last dean and father of Henry Bone, mentioned in the dean's will as his nephew.

	£	s.	d.
To John Villers, kt., and Edward Gryffyn, gent., granted 20 Feb., 1538-9, the stewardship of the manors of Cransley and Wollaston with wages and fees, £1 6s. 8d. as above: for two years	2	13	4
To Francis Samwell, gent., granted 11 Sept., 1546, the auditorship of accounts of all receipts of collectors, etc., of all manors, etc., with wages and fees, £5 as above: for a year and a half	7	10	0
To Thomas Butre, granted 20 Jan., 1546-7, £1 as above: for a year and a half	1	10	0
To William Wyggeston, esq., of Combe,[64] granted 1 March, 1543-4, the under-stewardship of the manors of Draycote and Chellaston and in Middlesex, with wages and fees, £1 payable in two portions at Easter and Michaelmas: for a year and a half	1	10	0
To William Wiggeston, of Wolston, Warwicks, esq.,[65] granted 10 Oct., 1546, five marks payable as above at Michaelmas and Lady day: for a year and a half	5	0	0
To Hugh Aston,[66] granted 1 Oct., 1544, £12 as above	18	0	0
To John Oldeham, as above, £4 as above	6	0	0
To Thomas Kegquycke, granted 12 Sept., 1543, £1 6s. 8d. as above ...	2	0	0
	£65	16	8

64 William Wigston of Combe, co. Warwick, son of Roger and nephew of William and Thomas Wigston.

65 Identical with William Wigston of Combe. He succeeded his father in the Wolston property in 1542-3, but did not take up his abode at Wolston till 1544-5, probably after his mother's death. See *Wyggeston Hosp. Records*, pp. xv, xvi.

66 Organist and choir-master in 1546 (*R. and P.* xxx, 521). See p. 150 and note on p. 244.

	£	s.	d.
(10) Paid by warrant.			
To John Taylour, clerk, master of the free school of Donington, co. Derby (*sic*), as stipend for a year, by warrant of William, lord Pagett, kt., chancellor of the duchy[67]	6	13	4
To Gabriel Reynes,[68] reader of the theological lecture (*lectori divine lecture*) in the hospital or bede-house (*hospicio sive domo oratorum*), at £10 a year, by warrant as above: for a year and a half	15	0	0
To John Wyllock, preacher in the bede-house, at £10 a year, by warrant as above: for a year and a half ...	15	0	0
To John Wyllok, master of the bede-house, at £13 6s. 8d. a year, by decree or ordinance of the duchy court: for a year and a half	20	0	0
To John Cowley, vicar or minister of St. Mary's by the castle, at £13 6s. 8d. a year, by warrant of William, lord Pagett, as above [for a year and more]	15	10	0[69]
	£72	3	4

The sum of the out-payments is therefore as follows:—

Rents resolutes	6	8	5½
Wages of poor in the bede-house ...	278	9	2
Fees, wages and rewards	59	6	0
Straw for churches	1	4	8
Necessary expenses	9	4	9
Repairs	43	12	6½
Pensions	443	12	6

67 This entry refers to payments out of the revenues of the suppressed chantry of Castle Donington.

68 Late prebendary of the eleventh prebend.

69 This item, like the Castle Donington item, does not concern the Newarke college.

	£	s.	d.
Synodals, etc.	49	0	0½
Annuities	65	16	8
Stipends paid by warrant	72	3	4
Total	£1028	18	1½

Deducted from the gross sum, estimated at £1,572 0s. 0½d. the receiver had to account for a balance of £543 1s. 11d.

Out of this balance which includes that of the property of all the foundations concerned in the account, the receiver charged himself with the amount of £97 6s. 9¾d., *viz.* :—

	£	s.	d.
Expenses of the auditor, receivers, etc., during the audit at Leicester, November, 1549	4	5	1
Part rent of the manor of Chester-by-the-Water, charged within the sum of £29 above, the manor having been granted by letters patent of 29 July, 1549, to Silvester Taverner, gent., his heirs and assigns for ever, as from Michaelmas, 1548	18	0	0
Part rent of the manor of Knuston, charged within the sum of 50s. above, the manor, etc., as above	1	13	4
Part outgoings of the manor of Cransley, charged within the sum of £27 7s. 3¼d. under that heading above, the manor having been granted by letters patent of 19 Dec., 1549, to John Hasilwode, his heirs and assigns for ever, as above ...	17	19	4¾
Part rent and farm of the manor of Hannington charged within the sum of £108 11s. 4½d. above, the Crown having granted by letters patent of 10 May, 1549, to Thomas Morres, gent., among other things, all that his messuage and tenement in 'le Sterte', all that his land and pasture called 'Sterteleise', all that meadow called 'Eymeade', and all that several water and fishery with their profits, etc., now or lately of the said Thomas Morres in the parish of Hannington, lately belonging to the college of Newarke; all that pasture and his sheep-fold and heritage called 'le Shepehouse', and all the lands, grazings, pastures, commons, wastes, furze, heath, marshes, tithes, etc., now in the tenure or occupation of Giles Morres, and late of Thomas Morres in Hannington, as from Michaelmas, 1548	11	10	0
Part rent and farm of the chantry of Castle Donington charged in the sum of £12 7s. 0d. under that heading above, the chantry having been granted by letters patent of 3 Jan., 1549-50, to Robert Catlyn, William Thomas, and the heirs and assigns of the said Robert for ever, as from Lady day, 1549	3	19	0
For £40 paid by the receiver to John Purevey, auditor of the duchy in the parts of the south, by virtue of a warrant addressed by William, lord Pagett, kt., chancellor, John Carrell, esq., attorney, and George Owen, esq., receiver-general of the duchy, to the receiver, 15 Feb., 1550-1, allowing Purevey £66 13s. 4d. for 2½ years past, to cover his expenses as auditor at the rate of 40 marks a year, to be paid henceforth in equal portions at Lady day and Michaelmas	40	0	0
	£97	6	9¾

This leaves £445 15s. 1¼d. of the balance to be allotted to the various persons responsible, which is done as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Nicholas Reignoldes, collector and farmer of the lands and tenements of the hospitals of St. John and St. Leonard, and collector of the obit rents; for arrears for this year, for which he is responsible to the Crown	18	5	1½
The same, collector of the lands and tenements late of Walter Dyotson ...	4	0	0
Occupants of lands and tenements in Leicester late in the collection of the provost of the college, at £6 7s. 3d. a year: for a year and a half	9	10	10½
John Beamounde, esq., farmer and occupier of lands and tenements in the close, at £14 16s. 8d. a year: for a year and a half	22	5	0
Occupants of lands and tenements in Leicester for the maintenance of obits and lights, at 10s. 5d. a year: for a year and a half	0	15	7½
John White, farmer of lands and tenements for the maintenance of Edmund Potterton: for one year ...	1	0	0
Occupants of 'le provoste close', at 6s. 8d.: for a year and a half ...	0	10	0
Agnes Clarke, widow, farmer of lands and tenements in Knuston: part outgoings for this year	0	16	8
Thomas Foster and Thomas Alyn, farmers of divers tenements in Knighton at 3s. 4d. and 30s. a year respectively: for a year and a half ...	2	10	0
Occupants of lands and tenements of the whole manor of Draycote, at £15 8s. 2d. a year, apart from £6 10s. 0d. paid to the receiver ...	16	12	3
John Thynne, kt., farmer and occupier of the manor of Kempsford: for one year	101	12	2

	£	s.	d.
Thomas Stevens, of North Inglesham, Berks., farmer and occupier of lands and tenements of the manor of Inglesham, Wilts.; for one year	7	10	0
[John Dudley], lord Warwick,[70] farmer and occupier of lands and tenements of the manor of Chedworth, at £8 11s. 0d.: for a year and a half ...	12	1	4½
John Awen, bailiff of the manor of Elmsall, at £17 10s. 0d.: for a year and a half	26	5	0
Henry Sacheverell, esq., farmer of the rectory of Duffield	10	0	0
William Singleton, farmer of a cottage in Preston at 5s. a year: for two years	0	10	0[71]
John Weylande, farmer of all and sundry the possessions, lands and tenements of the college of St. Mary-by-the-Castle, at £24 16s. 1½d. a year: for a year and a half, apart from £13 6s. 8d. paid to the receiver	23	16	6¼
John Hynde, clerk, collector of the rents, etc., of the guild of St. Margaret	0	3	6
Richard Woodwarde, collector of the rents, etc., of the chantry or guild of Corpus Christi	0	17	4
John Turvell, esq., farmer of divers lands and tenements late of the chantry of Castle Donington: for a year and a half, apart from £3 19s. 0d. allowed him by letters patent	7	18	0
John Taylour, clerk, occupier of the house or mansion late of the above chantry, at 6s. 8d.: for a year and a half	0	10	0
The receiver of the Crown for the honour of Tutbury, in arrear of the annuity of 100 marks granted by			

[70] Afterwards duke of Northumberland.

[71] The remaining entries, except the last two, refer to the other foundations included in the account.

	£	s.	d.
Henry VII to the dean and canons: for a year and a half from Michaelmas, 1548	100	0	0
From the issues of the office of the receiver within the time covered by this account	78	5	8
	£445	15	1¼

This last sum is carried on as arrears to the debit side of the next account.

It will be noticed from the contents of this long document that, after the suppression of the college, the bede-house was placed in charge of a master in holy orders, with a stipend of twenty marks (£13 6s. 8d.) a year, equivalent to the stipend granted to the vicar or minister of St. Mary's; while Gabriel Rayne or Raynes, formerly prebendary of the eleventh stall, was appointed lecturer with a yearly stipend of ten pounds. The collegiate church, which no longer served any purpose, as it was not parochial and the bede-house chapel met all the needs of the mutilated foundation, was gradually dismantled and appears to have been entirely cleared away within less than half a century, and probably in a much shorter time. Only an inconsiderable fragment of its sub-structure remains to-day. When, in 1614, king James I gave a new charter of incorporation to the bede-house, the old dedication to the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin was disregarded, and the title of Trinity hospital was substituted, doubtless owing to the traditional importance of Trinity Sunday among the annual festivals of the college. In spite, however, of the changes which it has undergone, the Newarke still retains something of the appearance of a cathedral close; and the noble gatehouse, the bede-house chapel, and the chantry-house of William Wigston, still remind us of the fact that, for just over two centuries, it was the site of a great college of secular clergy, which, founded and cherished by a younger branch of the royal house of England, took its place with St. George's Windsor, St. Stephen's Westminster, and Fotheringhay in the first rank of chapels royal.

X.

LISTS OF DEANS, CANONS AND PREBENDARIES

The list which follow have been compiled chiefly from the registers of institutions at Lincoln; but a few notices have been supplied from other sources, as will be seen by a reference to the footnotes. Some references to other benefices held by these clerks, where the writer has come across them in the course of his reading, are added; but these are necessarily far from complete. In giving the names, established custom has been followed in reproducing the particle 'de' where it appears in the registers, but in English. It should be clearly understood, however, that a man who, for the purposes of a Latin entry, is called, *e.g.*, 'Ricardus de Hampslape de Toneworth', was known in English as 'Richard Hampslape' or 'Richard Toneworth' indiscriminately, without the particle 'of'. The hybrid 'Richard de Hampslape' is neither English nor Latin, and the best method is to speak of Richard of Hampslape as we speak of William of Wykeham.

1.—DEANS (CANONS AND PREBENDARIES OF THE FIRST PREBEND)

1355-6, 24 March, Richard of Hampslape of Toneworth, priest, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[1]

1361-2, 7 Jan. Master John Porter, pres. by dame Maud of Lancaster, countess of Hainault, Zeeland, Holland and Leicester, by her proctors, Matthew of Assheton and John of Stafford, on the death of Richard of Hampslape.[2]

1369, 28 July. Peter of Kellisheye, chaplain, pres. by John, duke of Lancaster, earl of Derby and Richmond, Lincoln and Leicester, high steward (*senescallus*) of England, on the death of master John Porter.[3]

——, — —. Thomas Brightewell, D.Th.[4]

[1] Lincoln Reg. ix, fo. 364, Hampslape=Hanslope, Bucks; Toneworth=Tanworth, Warwicks.

[2] *Ibid.*, fo. 378. See list of prebendaries of the fifth stall. See also pp. 48, 124, 139-40 above for the tenure of prebends by deans before their election.

[3] Reg. x, fo. 245. Kellisheye or Kellesey=North or South Kelsey, Lincs. See list of prebendaries of the fourth stall.

[4] No admission recorded. Later than 1382, when he was admitted to a prebend unspecified. He was dean in 1389. See p. 104 above.

1390, 25 Nov. William Chuseldene, priest, pres. by John, duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, etc., on the death of master Thomas Brightewell.[5]

1396, 1 Oct. Richard Elvet, priest, pres. by John, etc., on the death of William of Chusildene.[6]

1431, 18 Dec. William Walesby, priest, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on the death of Richard Elvet.[7]

1450, 20 Dec. Master Richard Andrewe, pres. by queen Margaret, on the res. of William Walesby.[8]

——, ——. Master William Witham.[9]

1472, 17 Aug. Master William Dudley, pres. by the Crown,[10] on the death of master William Witham.[11]

1476, 20 Oct. Master William Chauntre, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master William Dudley.[12]

1485, Dec. Master John Morgan, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master William Chauntre.[13]

1496, 5 Dec. Master Robert Middleton, LL.D., pres. by the Crown, on the consecration of John Morgan as bishop of St. David's.[14]

1499-1500, 14 Jan. Master William Stokedall, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master Robert Middletone.[15]

1500, 23 Nov. Master James Whitston, Dec. doc., pres. by the Crown on the death of master John (*sic*) Stokedale.[16]

1512-3, 4 Jan. Master John Yong, LL.D., pres. by the Crown, on the death of master James Whitstone.[17]

5 Reg. xi, fo. 217 : see list of prebendaries of the fourth stall.

6 *Ibid.*, fo. 233. Archdeacon of Leicester, 1404-24 : see list of prebendaries of the fourth stall.

7 Reg. xvii, fo. 37 : see list of prebendaries of the seventh stall. For an account of Walesby's preferments see pp. 105-7 above.

8 Lambeth Reg. Stafford, fo. 107 and d : see list of prebendaries of the fifth stall. See also p. 117 above, and further notes on Andrewe and his successors, pp. 139-40. Andrewe became dean of York in 1451-2, and Gascoigne (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, ed. Rogers, p. 193) says that he held the deanery of the Newarke college with it *per plures annos*. He probably resigned about 1458.

9 Archdeacon of Stow 1454-8, of Leicester 1458-72; dean of Wells 1469-72. He held many other preferments, and was dean of the Court of Arches under archbishop Stafford.

10 In virtue of the duchy of Lancaster.

11 Lincoln Reg. xxi, fo. 63 and d. See list of prebendaries of the thirteenth prebend.

12 *Ibid.*, fo. 71 and d. See list of prebendaries of the thirteenth prebend.

13 Reg. xxii, fo. 209.

14 Reg. xxiii, fo. 229.

15 *Ibid.*, fo. 236.

16 *Ibid.*, fo. 240 and d. Vicar of Buckminster, 20 January, 1497-8 (*ibid.*, ff. 232*d*, 233).

17 *Ibid.*, fo. 268.

1515, 4 Dec. Master William Knyght, I.U.D., pres, by the Crown, on the res. of master John Yong with an annual pension of £20.[18]

1517, 7 June. George Grey, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of William Knyght.[19]

1530, 25 May. Master Robert Bone, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of George Grey with an annual pension of £12.[20]

2.—CANONS, PREBENDARIES OF THE SECOND PREBEND

1355-6, 24 March. Nicholas of Croxale, priest, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[21]

1361, 6 Oct. William of Wylughby of Knighton, priest, pres. by dame Maud of Lancaster, countess of Hainault, Zeeland, Holland and Leicester, on the death of Nicholas of Croxale.[22]

1393, 29 March. Master Richard Suttone, priest, pres. by John, duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, etc., by exchange of the church of Deene, Northants., for this stall and the church of Brooksby, Leics., with William Knyghton.[23]

1403-4, 12 Feb. John Exton, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the demise of Richard Sutton.[24]

1404, 22 May. John Charyte, pres. by the Crown.[25]

1405, 18 Nov. John Ayleston, priest, pres. by the Crown, on exch. of a canonry and prebend in St. George's, Windsor, with John Exton. He was re-admitted 1406, 9 May.[26]

1406-7, 8 Feb. William Cu, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of John Ayleston.[27]

18 Reg. xxv, fo. 37 *d*.

19 Reg. xxv, fo. 38.

20 Reg. xxvii, fo. 132 *d*. See list of prebendaries of the fifth prebend.

21 Reg. ix, fo. 364 *d*. Croxale=Croxall, Staffs.

22 *Ibid.*, fo. 376 d. : See also list of prebendaries of the thirteenth prebend. He was rector of Riseholme, Lincs., 21 Jan., 1369-70 (Reg. x, fo. 133), which he exchanged for Brooksby, 10 October, 1370 (*ibid.*, fo. 250 *d*).

23 Reg. xi, fo. 223 *d*. Sutton res. Brooksby upon obtaining the church of Long Whatton, 20 September, 1393 (Reg. xiii, fo. 185 d.). His inst. to Deene is not recorded.

24 Reg. xiii, fo. 202.

25 *Ibid.*, fo. 202. This inst., however, was evidently made in error, as appears from the next entry. Charyte was inst. to the ninth stall on 2 June following (*ibid.*), Exton evidently retaining the second.

26 Reg. xiv, ff. 140, 141 *d.*; see *Cal. Pat.*, 1405-8, p. 94.

27 Reg. xiv, fo. 145. Cu or Kywe exchanged the church of Hareby, Lincs., for Ashby parva, 22 June, 1419 (*ibid.*, fo. 202 d.), which he res. before 2 March, 1422-3 (Reg. xvi, fo. 97 d.)

1422-3, 6 March. William Bedale, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on the res. of William Cu.[28]

1471-2, 7 March. Richard Gyllott, priest, pres. by John Sidburghte and Peter Curteys, patrons for this turn, on the death of William Bedale.[29]

1472-3, 13 Jan. Master John Blakwyn, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the death of Richard Gillott.[30]

1485, 15 Sept. Master James Streitberelle, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master John Blakwyne.[31]

1486, 21 June. Master Richard Straitberelle, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master James Straitberelle.[32]

1488-9, 27 Jan. William Derby, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master Richard Streytberelle.[33]

1524, 10 Nov. John Whetwod, clerk, pres. by Thomas, marquess of Dorset, by grant of the Crown, on the death of master William Derby.[34]

1527, 30 Dec. Master Robert Patchett, LL.B., upon the bishop's collation by grant of the Crown, on the res. of John Watwod with a pension of two marks.[35]

3.—CANONS, PREBENDARIES OF THE THIRD PREBEND

1355-6, 24 March. William Mildrithe of Knyghton, priest, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[36]

——, ——. William of Colshull.[37]

[28] Reg. xvi, fo. 97 d. He exch. the church of Rearsby for that of Catthorpe, 5 May, 1435 (Reg. xvii, fo. 43 *d.*) Rector of Clipsham, Rutland 25 October, 1438 : res. before 7 December, 1439 (Reg. xviii, ff. 119 *d*, 121).

[29] Reg. xx, fo. 226.

[30] Reg. xxi, fo 64. Rector of Beeby, 10 May, 1477 (*ibid.*, fo. 72 *d*) ; prebendary of Leicester St. Margaret's in Lincoln, 14 Nov., 1472 (Le Neve, ii, 169).

[31] Reg. xxii, fo. 208 *d.*

[32] *Ibid.*, fo. 209 *d.*

[33] *Ibid.*, fo. 211. Rector of Belgrave 17 October, 1491 (Reg. xxii, fo. 214 *d*).

[34] Reg. xxvii, fo. 129. For details regarding Whetwod and all the canons in 1525 see pp. 143-182 above, *passim.*

[35] *Ibid.*, fo. 131 *d*. The name Patchett is a form of Paget. He was a canon of St. Mary's in the Castle in 1526, and vicar of Billesdon and Rothley (Salter, *Subsidy*, pp. 9, 19, 21). Dean of the Christianity of Leicester and rector of Kirkby Mallory in 1534-5 (*Val. Ecc.* iv, 180).

[36] Reg. ix, fo. 364 *d*. This was William of Knyghton, last warden of the hospital. He was inst. to the vicarage of Higham Ferrers, 14 February, 1357-8 (Reg. ix, fo. 214), when he probably res. this preb. The vicarage was vacant by his death before 8 August, 1361 (*ibid.*, fo. 235).

[37] No record of admission. Colshull probably=Coleshill, Warwicks.

1360, 29 June. Master Thomas of Hampslape, priest, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster, on the death of William of Colshull.[38]

1361, 5 Oct. Henry of Spondone, priest, pres. by dame Maud of Lancaster, countess of Hainault, Zeeland, Holland and Leicester, on the death of Thomas of Hampslape.[39]

1361, 20 Dec. Simon Baxter of Daventry, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the death of Thomas of Hampslape.[40]

——, ——. William Wynsby.[41]

1408, 27 July. Thomas Haliwelle, chaplain, pres. by the Crown, on the death of William Wynsby.[42]

——,——. Richard Kempsale.[43]

1451, 27 Oct. John Seton, priest, pres. by queen Margaret, on the death of Richard Kempsale.[44]

1457, 4 Oct. Master William Rawlyns, priest, pres. by queen Margaret on exch. of the church of Eastwell with John Setone.[45]

1486-7, 8 March. Master William Petyfere, pres. by the Crown, on the death of Master William Rawlyns.[46]

——, ——. Master Walter Willugby.[47]

1496-7, 9 Feb. Master John Edmonds, I.U.B., pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Walter Willugby.[48]

1506, 27 Sept. John Lacy, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of John Edmunds.[49]

1511-2, 23 Feb. Master Edmund Chollerton, pres. by the Crown, on the death of John Lacy.[50]

[38] Reg. ix, fo. 373 *d.*

[39] Reg. ix, fo. 376 *d.* Spondone=Spondon, Derbyshire.

[40] *Ibid.*, fo. 377 *d.* This inst. appears to have cancelled that made on the countess Maud's presentation.

[41] *Vis. Rel. Houses dio. Linc.* II, 188, 192.

[42] Reg. xiv, fo. 150. See *R. and P.* xxxii, 530, 542, 543. Rector of Stow-cum-Quy, Cambs., which he exch. for Sileby, 15 February, 1422-3 (Reg. xvi, fo. 97 and d). His obit is prescribed as the model for that of Robert Mome, prebendary of the fourth stall, in 1502 (P.C.C. 8 Blamyr.)

[43] No inst. recorded. He was, as appears from Alnwick's visitation, a vicar-choral from as early as 1433.

[44] Reg. xix, fo. 66.

[45] Reg. xx, fo. 211 *d.* Also rector of Ashby parva, which he res. before 25 November, 1457 (*ibid.*).

[46] Reg. xxii, fo. 210 *d.*

[47] No inst. recorded.

[48] Reg. xxiii, ff. 229 *d.* 230. Rector of Wigston, 17 May 1498 (*ibid.*, fo. 232), succeeding John Sherman (see list for seventh prebend).

[49] *Ibid.*, fo. 256.

[50] *Ibid.*, fo. 267. Chollerton's will, proved 20 August 1526, contains no mention of the college. He was a fellow of King's Hall, Cambridge, and his will mentions his two churches at Devizes (P.C.C. 9 Porche).

1512, 17 Oct. Master James Nicolson, M.A., pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Edmund Chollerton.[51]

1533-4, 28 Jan. Master Nicholas Bradshawe, LL.B., pres. by John Russell and Nicholas Carew, knights, by grant of the Crown, on the death of master James Nicolson.[52]

4.—CANONS, PREBENDARIES OF THE FOURTH PREBEND

1355-6, 24 March. Thomas Aleyn of Wyche, dio. Worcester, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[53]

1361, 8 July. Peter of Kelleseye, pres. by the Crown, on the death of Thomas of Wiche.[54]

1369, 8 Aug. William of Chuseldin, priest, pres. by John, duke of Lancaster, etc., on the res. of Peter of Kellisheye, now dean.[55]

1390, 3 Dec. Richard Elvet, priest, pres. by John, duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, etc., on the res. of William Chuseldene, now dean.[56]

1396, 11 Nov. John Elvet, clerk, deacon, pres. by John, duke of Aquitaine, etc., on the res. of Richard of Elvet, now dean.[57]

1399, 4 Oct. William, son of John of Almanbury, chaplain, pres. by John, duke of Lancaster, on the res. of John Elvet.[58]

1421, 19 April. John Whyte, pres. by the Crown, on the death of William Almanbury.[59]

51 *Ibid.*, fo. 268. His will, proved 13 Aug., 1534, stated that he was born at Arkholme (co. Lancaster). He was a member of King's Hall, Cambridge. He desired to be buried in the collegiate church, leaving 13s. 4d. to the dean, 6s. 8d. to each canon, 3s. 4d. to each vicar, 18d. to each chantry-priest and each clerk, 8d. to each chorister, 6d. to the verger, 2d. to each bed in the bedehouse and to each of the ten keepers, and £10 to the church 'toward the making of a pair of new organs' (P.C.C. 16 Hogen).

52 Reg. xxvii, fo. 133. The P.R.O. Cal. of First-fruits notes a composition by Richard Baynton for the third prebend, 18 October, 1545. This, however, is a mistake. Baynton or Benton was a canon of St. Mary's-of-the-Castle, not of the Newarke college. In the valuations of canons' houses in 1546 and 1548 (*R. and P.* xxx, 529, 538) one of the houses is still called 'sir Nycholas Bradshawes', and Baynton's name is not mentioned. His name occurs among the canons of the older St. Mary's in the Receiver's account of 1548. Bradshawe in 1534-5 was rector of Sudbury, co. Derby (*Val. Ecc.* iii, 167).

53 Reg. ix, fo. 364 *d*. Wyche=Droitwich, Worces.

54 *Ibid.*, fo. 376 : see *Cal. Pat.* 1361-4, p. 33.

55 Reg. x, fo. 245 *d*.

56 Reg. xi, fo. 217.

57 Reg. xi, fo. 233 *d*.

58 Reg. xiii, fo. 189 *d*. Rector of Abkettleby, 23 Aug., 1396 (Reg. xi, fo. 233 *d*) ; of Brooksby, 20 September 1398 (Reg. xiii, fo. 185 d). He vacated Brooksby before 2 April, 1400 (*ibid.*, fo. 190), and res. Abkettleby at some period before 9 April, 1403 (*ibid.*, fo. 199 *d*).

59 Reg. xvi, fo. 90.

——, ——. Master Ralph Welles.[60]

1459, 9 May. Richard Peynter, chaplain, pres. by queen Margaret, on the death of master Ralph Welles.[61]

1464, 16 Aug. Master John Billesdone, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of Richard Peynter.[62]

1484-5, 3 March. Master Robert Mome, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master John Billesdone.[63]

1502, 3 April. Master Gilbert Bekensawe, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master Robert Moumme.[64]

1537, 20 June. Master Thomas Dudley, on the bishop's collation by grant of the Crown, on the death of the previous incumbent.[65]

——, ——. Master Richard Birdsall.[66]

1541, 26 Oct. Master Christopher Marshall, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Richard Birdsall.[67]

5.—CANONS, PREBENDARIES OF THE FIFTH PREBEND

1355-6, 24 March. John, called Porter, of Leicester, priest, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[68]

60 *Vis. Rel. Houses dio. Linc,* II, 188, 192.

61 Reg. xx, fo. 213 *d*.

62 *Ibid.*, fo. 217.

63 Reg. xxii, fo. 208. Rector of Bottesford, 10 March, 1481-2, and of Market Bosworth, 15 January, 1482-3 (*ibid.*, fo. 204 *d*, 205 *d*). He exch. Bottesford for the preb. of St. Margaret's, Leicester, in Lincoln Cathedral, 18 April, 1492 (*ibid.*, fo. 215). He vacated Bosworth by death in 1502. (Reg. xxiii, fo. 246). He was an executor of the will of William Chauntre, dean of the college (see p. 118 above). In his own will, proved 20 April, 1502, he left £6 13s. 4d. to the college, together with tenements in Burton Overy and Oadby for an obit for himself, William lord Hastings and Katherine his wife. The will contains a bequest of 'a little silver gilt goblet plain' to lady Hungerford, and Sacheverell was an executor. His books, left to William Fissher for life, were to remain to the college. His will contains bequests to the churches of Bawburgh, Norf., and Gnosall, co. Stafford. (P.C.C. 8 Blamyr.)

64 Reg. xxiii, fo. 245. See *R. and P.* xxxii, 565. One of the executors of the last will of James Whitston, dean, in 1512 (P.C.C. 20 Fetiplace). His will was proved 1 July, 1537. He desired to be buried in the collegiate church 'near to the sepulture of the lady Hungerford there as my gravestone lieth' and left directions with his brother and others for a double obit there. To each of his fellow-canons, Burton and Gillot, the second of whom was a witness of his will, he bequeathed a silken cushion (P.C.C. 8 Dyngeley). His family belonged to Lancashire, taking its name from the manor of Becconsall in Aughton. His will mentions his three parochial cures, the churches of Standlake, Oxon., and Ingoldmells, co. Lincoln, and the vicarage of Bradford, Yorks. In 1534-5 he is named as rector of Addlethorpe, the parish which adjoins Ingoldmells (*Val. Ecc.* iv, 48).

65 Reg. xxvii, fo. 144 *d*.

66 Institution not recorded.

67 Reg. xxvii, fo. 150.

68 Reg. ix, fo, 364 *d*.

1361-2, 30 Jan. Richard of Stafforde, priest, pres. by dame Maud of Lancaster, countess of Hainault, etc., on the res. of master John Porter, now dean.[69]

——, ——. Robert of Neutone.[70]

1377-8, 2 Feb. John Seggevaux, priest, pres. by John, king of Castile and Leon, duke of Lancaster, on the death of Robert of Neutone.[71]

1404, 10 Oct. Henry Ferrers (*de Ferarves*), chaplain, pres. by the Crown, on the demise of John Segevaux.[72]

1406, 22 Oct. John Brigge, pres. by the Crown, on exch. of a canonry and prebend in St. Mary's Warwick, with master Henry Ferrers.[73]

1408, 14 Nov. Thomas Suthwell, pres. by the Crown, on exch. of the church of Shifnal, Salop, with William (*sic*) Brugge, for this stall and the church of Glenfield.[74]

1413-4, 13 March. John Turvey, chaplain, pres. by the Crown, on exch. of the church of Byfield, Northants., with Thomas Suthwell for this stall and the church of Glenfield.[75]

1419, 23 Oct. Walter Menythorpe, pres. by the Crown, on the death of John Turffay.[76]

1425, 16 June. William Holwelle, chaplain, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on the death of Walter Denton.[77]

——, ——. Lawrence Roche.[78]

[69] *Ibid.*, fo. 378 *d*. He exch. Newton Regis, Warwicks., for Oadby, 31 December, 1364 (Reg. x, ff. 233 *d*, 234). He exch. Oadby for Irnham, Lincs., 24 Oct., 1370 (*ibid.*, fo. 250 *d*). When he vacated Irnham is not recorded.

[70] No institution recorded. He vacated the church of Abkettleby by death in 1378 (Reg. x, fo. 269 and *d*) : the date of his inst. is not known, but he was rector in 1370 (Rot. de Banco 438, m. 346; a reference supplied by the kindness of the late Mr. George Farnham).

[71] Reg. x, fo. 268 *d*.

[72] Reg. xiii, ff. 203 *d*, 204.

[73] Reg. xiv, fo. 143.

[74] Ibid., fo. 153 : inst. by the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield by commission of 6 November. See a mention of his house in the close, p. 96 above. Suthwell exch. Byfield, Northants., for St. Stephen's, Walbrook, London, 3 August, 1423 (Reg. xvi, fo. 67 and *d*), with John Everdon (see list for the eighth prebend). He died rector of St. Stephen's in 1440 (Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.* p. 386).

[75] *Ibid.*, fo. 179 : see *Cal. Pat.* 1413-6, p. 282. Rector of Clifton, Beds., 14 May, 1396 (Reg. xi, fo. 367 *d*). He exch. Clifton for Yielden, Beds., 18 November, 1396 (*ibid.*, fo. 369 *d*) : Yielden for Belgrave, 15 May, 1401 (Reg. xiii, fo. 193 *d*) ; Belgrave for Byfield, 25 July, 1403 (*ibid.*, fo. 120). He res. Glenfield before 7 November, 1415 (Reg. xiv, fo. 181 *d*).

[76] Reg. xiv, fo. 203 *d*.

[77] Lambeth Reg. Chichele, I, fo. 259 : Denton and Menythorpe are very probably one and the same person.

[78] No institution recorded.

1440, 25 April. Thomas Redman, pres. by the Crown, on exch. of the church of Workington, Cumberland, with Lawrence Roche, for this stall and the church of Middle, Salop.[79]

1450, 1 Dec. Master Richard Andrewe, king's secretary, pres. by queen Margaret, on the res. of Thomas Redman.[80]

1450, 20 Dec. Thomas Redman, pres. by queen Margaret, on the res. of master Richard Andrewe, now dean.[81]

1457-8, 3 March. Robert Passemer, priest, pres. by queen Margaret, on exch. of the church of Barwell with Thomas Redman.[82]

1481, 30 Nov. Thomas Dalton, pres. by the Crown, on the death of Robert Passemer.[83]

1481-2, 4 March. William Rowsyng, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of Thomas Dalton.[84]

1492, 6 May. Thomas Rydley, chaplain, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master William Rowsyng.[85]

1495, 4 July. Master Edward Shuldam, LL.D., pres. by the Crown, on the res. of Thomas Rydley.[86]

1496, 9 May. Master Richard Huddelston, M.A., pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Edward Shuldeham.[87]

[79] *Yorks. Archaeol. Journal*, xxv, 227. He was instituted to Workington 30 March previously. There is no record of this exchange in the Lincoln registers : the record occurs in Matthew Hutton's MS. calendar of the lost registers of the archdeaconry of Richmond.

[80] Lambeth Reg. Stafford, fo. 107.

[81] *Ibid.*, fo. 107 *d*. For the temporary vacation of his prebend by Redman and for other similar cases see p. 139 above.

[82] Reg. xx, fo. 212. Redman resigned Barwell before 6 May, 1467, receiving an annual pension of five marks (*ibid.*, fo. 220 *d*).

[83] Reg. xxii, fo. 204 *d*.

[84] *Ibid.* Vicar of Buckminster, 15 June, 1481 (*ibid.*, fo. 203 *d*).

[85] *Ibid.*, fo. 215.

[86] Lambeth Reg. Morton I, fo. 105. Shuldham's will, proved 31 Aug., 1503, contains no reference to the college. He was buried in the church of Therfield, co. Hertford, before the font (P.C.C. 24 Blamyr). He was a fellow of King's Hall, Cambridge, and was employed by archbishop Morton on commissions (see Churchill, *Cant. Admin.* 1, 178).

[87] Reg. xxiii, fo. 227. In Early Chancery Proceedings in the P.R.O. (182/28) is a petition from the dean (John Yong) and canons to archbishop Warham, then chancellor, for a writ of subpœna to be served on John Edmonds, prebendary of the third stall, who had been appointed by them to administer Huddelston's goods for the recovery of £100 due to the college at his death. Edmonds refused to pay the full sum, alleging that there were divers persons who should be summoned for debts due to Huddelston's estate. Among these were two canons, William Derby (second stall), mentioned as administrator of the goods of Walter Diotson (tenth stall), and William Ilkeston (twelfth stall), and a former canon, Robert Fullehurst (eleventh stall). Edmonds also said that Seth Atterclyffe held £20 of his predecessor's goods, and prayed that these people should be called to account.

1501-2, 5 Jan. Master Seth Atterclyffe, U.I.B., pres. by the Crown, on the death of Richard Hudlestone.[88]

1526, 6 May. Robert Bone, chaplain, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master Set (*sic*) Atterclyffe.[89]

1530, 25 May. Master Anthony Skevington, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of Robert Bone, now dean.[90]

6.—CANONS, PREBENDARIES OF THE SIXTH PREBEND

1355-6, 24 March. Robert Hardegray of Wilksby, priest, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[91]

1361, 5 Sept. Thomas Herberde of Arnesby, priest, pres. by dame Maud of Lancaster, countess of Hainault, etc., on the res. of Robert Hardegray.[92]

——, ——. John of Hognortone.[93]

1397, 17 Aug. John Norburgh, priest, pres. by John, duke of Lancaster and Aquitaine, on the death of John of Hognortone.[94]

[1402. Richard Foxton, pres. by the Crown 25 April, on exch. of the church of Carlton Curlieu for this stall and the church of Edmondthorpe.[95]]

1422-3, 23 Feb. John Bromburgh, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on the death of John Norburgh. Re-admitted (John Brauburghe, chaplain), 3 Feb., 1435-6.[96]

[88] *Ibid.*, fo. 245.

[89] Reg. xxvii, fo. 129 *d*. See p. 204 above.

[90] *Ibid.*, fo. 132 *d*. In the P.R.O. Cal. of First-fruits, Gregory Charlett, who was actually a canon of St. Mary's-of-the-Castle, is said to have compounded, 18 January, 1543-4. This is a mistake similar to that noted in the case of the third prebend. In 1534-5 Skevington was prebendary of Stretton in St. Peter's, Wolverhampton, and rector of Lutterworth and of Shelton, co. Bedford (*Val. Ecc.* iii, 106; iv, 184, 202).

[91] Reg. ix, fo. 364 *d*. He succeeded William Mildrithe of Knyghton (see list for the third prebend) as vicar of Higham Ferrers, 8 August, 1361 (Reg. ix, fo. 235), when he evidently res. his prebend. He exch. Higham vicarage for Haselbech, Northants, 23 June, 1363 (Reg. x, fo. 156); Haselbech for the vicarage of Guilsborough, Northants, 10 October, 1365 (*ibid.*, fo. 162 *d*); and this last for the vicarage of Laughton-en-le-Morthen, Yorks., 15 Nov., 1365 (*ibid.*, fo. 163 and *d*).

[92] *Ibid.*, fo. 376.

[93] No institution recorded.

[94] Reg. xi, fo. 236. Norburgh or Northburgh=Narborough.

[95] *Cal. Pat.* 1401-5, p. 87; cf. p. 254 (21 August, 1403). This presentation, however, does not seem to have taken effect.

[96] Reg. xvi, fo. 97 *d*; Reg. xvii, fo. 44 *d*. Rector of Cossington 30 July, 1440 (Reg. xviii, fo. 153). He died rector of Belgrave before 26 May, 1472 (Reg. xxi, fo. 63: cf. fo. 64).

1441-2, 22 Feb. Master Peter Hotton, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on exch. of the church of Belgrave for this stall and the church of Cossington.[97]

1457, 10 June. William Wyreham, clerk, pres. by queen Margaret, on the death of master Peter Hotone.[98]

1476, 26 May. Richard Marys, priest, pres. by Leonard Thornburgh, esq., patron for this turn, on the death of William Wyram.[99]

1477, 30 April. John Boteler, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the death of Richard Morys.[100]

1504, 14 May. John Harden, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the death of John Buttiller.[101]

1505, 30 May. Master Thomas Reynes, M.A., priest, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of John Harden.[102]

1506, 23 Dec. William Mason, clerk, pres. by the Crown on the res. of Thomas Reynes.[103]

1514 or 1515. Master Roger Pisford, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master William Mason.[104]

1519, 11 Oct. Master Richard Brokesby, Dec. doc., pres. by sir George Hastings, lord Hastings, on the death of master Roger Pisford.[105]

——, ——. John Ireland.[106]

1545, 8 Oct. Richard Baldewyn, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of John Ireland.[107]

7.—CANONS, PREBENDARIES OF THE SEVENTH PREBEND

1355-6, 24 March. John of Knyghton, priest, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[108]

1379-80, 24 Jan. Robert atte More, priest, pres. by John, king of Castile and Leon, duke of Lancaster, on the demise of John of Knyghtone.[109]

[97] Reg. xviii, fo. 154. He res. Cossington by 22 February, 1445-6 (Reg. xviii, fo. 159 *d*).

[98] Reg. xx, fo. 211.

[99] Reg. xxi, fo. 70.

[100] *Ibid.*, fo. 72 *d*.

[101] Reg. xxiii, fo. 250 *d*.

[102] *Ibid.*, fo. 253.

[103] *Ibid.*, ff 256 *d*., 257.

[104] Reg. xxv, fo. 40 *d*. Pysford or Pitsford was inst. to Medbourne, 16 January, 1507-8 (Reg. xxiii, fo. 260 *d*.) and held it till his death in 1519 (Reg. xxv, fo. 40 *d*). He was probably a member of the Coventry family to which William Wigston's wife belonged.

[105] Reg. xxv, fo. 40. Dean of the Castle chapel at Hastings and rector of Asfordby and Saxelby in 1534-5 (*Val. Ecc.* I, 244's iv, 167).

[106] No institution recorded.

[107] Reg. xxvii, fo. 154. He was chaplain to princess Mary, and his presentation was at her suit and that of the queen (*Lett. and Papers Hen. VIII*, xx (2), 184, no. 418 (78).

[108] Reg. ix, fo. 364 *d*.

[109] Reg. x, fo. 271.

——, ——. William Hayton.[110]

1397, 22 Dec. William Frere, priest, pres. by John, duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, on the res. of William Hayton.[111]

1399, 26 Oct. John Erdeburgh, chaplain, pres. by the Crown, on res. of William Frere.[112]

1401, 28 April. John Mareschalle, chaplain, pres. by the Crown, on the death of John Ierdeburgh.[113]

1407, 21 April. Henry Botheby or Beeke, pres. by the Crown, on exch. of the church of Navenby, Lincs., with John Marshall for this prebend and the church of Syresham, Northants.[114]

1407-8, 16 Jan. John Cliffe, pres. by the Crown.[115]

1423, 18 Nov. Henry Rose, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on the death of John Clyffe.[116] Re-admitted 1424, 3 Aug.[117]

1431, 7 Dec. William Walesby, priest, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on the res. of Henry Rose.[118]

1431, 18 Dec. Thomas Hill, priest, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on the res. of William Walesby, now dean.[119]

1438, 11 May. Master John Day or Deye, priest, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on exch. of the church of Great Chesterford, Essex, with Thomas Hyll for this stall and the church of Wigston.[120]

110 Institution not recorded. He appears to have been a canon in 1392 : see p. 88 above.

111 Reg. xi, fo. 236 *d*.

112 Reg. xiii, fo. 189 *d* : see *Cal. Pat.* 1399-1401, p. 13.

113 Reg. viii, fo. 192 *d*. Marshall was inst. to Syresham, Northants, 4 December, 1404 (Reg. xiii, fo 243) : he res. Navenby, Lincs. by 25 May, 1412 (Reg. xiv, fo. 556). For a note on Marshall, see *Visitations of Religious Houses* (Lincoln Record Soc.) i, 189-90.

114 Reg. xiv, fo. 145 *d* : cf. *Cal. Pat.* 1405-8, p. 311. Botheby or Beek died rector of Syresham before 19 February, 1407-8 (Reg. xiv, fo. 229 *d*). He exch. Stowe-nine-Churches, Northants, for Navenby, 10 Dec., 1383 (Reg. xi, fo. 3).

115 Reg. xiv, fo. 148.

116 Reg. xvi, fo. 100 *d*. See also list of prebendaries of the twelfth prebend. Rector of Clipsham, Rutland, 2 Nov., 1440 (Reg. xviii, fo. 124 *d*). He res. this living before 9 November, 1440 (*ibid.*, fo. 127), and was inst. to Foston, which he held till his death, 15 April, 1443 (Reg. xx, fo. 207).

117 Lambeth Reg. Chichele i, fo. 243 and *d*.

118 Reg. xvii, fo. 37.

119 Reg. xvii, fo. 37. See also list of prebendaries of the twelfth prebend.

120 Reg. xviii, fo. 1499, where the exchange is stated inaccurately. Dey was inst. to Chesterford, 8 October, 1426 : Hill appears to have held the rectory until his death before 9th June, 1465 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, ii, 132).

——, ——. Robert Spurnour.[121]

1465, 9 July. Robert Strange, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the death of Robert Spurnour.[122]

1479, 18 July. Master John Sherman, Dec. bac., pres. by the Crown, on the death of Robert Strange.[123]

1498, 17 May. Master John Frost, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master John Sherman.[124]

1517-8, 5 Feb. Peter Swyllington, pres. by Edward Belknap, kt., and George Danett, esq., on the death of the last incumbent.[125]

1528, 16 Nov. Master William Duckett, U.I.B., pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Peter Swyllington with an annual pension of £5.[126]

1532, 16 Oct. Master James Willen, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master William Duckett.[127]

121 Institution not recorded. The date, however, must be soon after Dey's deprivation in December, 1440, when Richard (*sic*) Spurnour or Spurnere was a vicar-choral. See p. 112 above.

122 Reg. xx, fo. 218.

123 Reg. xxi, fo. 75. He succeeded John Everdon (see list for the eighth prebend) as rector of Wigston, 31 January, 1458-9 (Reg. xx, fo. 213) until his death before 17 May, 1498 (Reg. xxiii, fo. 232).

124 Reg. xxiii, fo. 232 and *d*. See list of prebendaries of the eleventh prebend. Frost's will (Reg. Archidiac. Leics., 1525-1526, fo. 108) was proved 9 Dec,, 1517. He wished to be buried 'in the chapel where as I was accustomed to say mass or nigh thereunto'. His directions for his funeral left details to the discretion of his executors, who were also entrusted with arrangements for his annual obit in the Newarke. He bequeathed 6s. 8d. to the poor-box and provided gowns for twelve poor men. His bequests to churches were numerous. These include Aylestone, the friars' churches in Leicester, Lythe in the North Riding of Yorkshire, 'Grysmore', *i.e.*, Grasmere, Westmorland, and several churches in the neighbourhood of Pontefract and Wakefield, viz., Ackworth, Featherstone, Sandal Magna and Warmfield (where his mother was buried). He left £20 for a chantry at Featherstone, presumably his birthplace. The mention of Lythe identifies him with John Frost, archdeacon of Winchester 1502-1511 (Le Neve iii, 26), who appears to have exchanged the archdeaconry for the church of Lythe in 1511 with Hugh Ashton, afterwards archdeacon of York (York Reg. Bainbridge, fo. 24), who succeeded him at Lythe 13 March 1517-18 (York Reg. Wolsey, fo. 34). The will shows that Geoffrey Whalley, prior of Ulverscroft and one of his executors, was his nephew. It was witnessed by William Byllyngton, vicar of Syston, and Henry Parsounes, vicar of Ratby.

125 Reg. xxv, fo. 38 *d*.

126 Reg. xxvii, fo. 132.

127 *Ibid.*, ff. 140 *d*, 141. Rector of Wyfordby and vicar of Thorpe Arnold in 1534-5 (*Val. Ecc.* fo. 154).

1540, 23 Nov. John Lancastre, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the death of James Willen.[128]

1541, 1 July. Master John Vyncent, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the death of John Lancaster.[129]

8.—CANONS, PREBENDARIES OF THE EIGHTH PREBEND

1355-6, 24 March. Adam of Herlaston, priest, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[130]

1361, 5 Sept. Adam Bernarde, priest, pres. by dame Maud of Lancaster, countess of Hainault, etc., on the death of Adam of Harlestone.[131] He was inst. again 1361-2, 4 Jan., on the pres. of the Crown.[132]

——, ——. Adam Thyndene.[133]

1408, 27 July. William Farrechilde, pres. by the Crown, on the death of Adam Thyndene.[134]

1418, 21 Oct. John Swalwell, chaplain, pres. by the Crown, on the death of William Fayrechilde.[135]

1434, 13 June. Lawrence Downtone, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on the death of John Swalwelle.[136]

——, ——. John Sheryngham.[137]

——, ——. John Everdone.[138]

128 *Ibid.*, fo. 140. Otherwise John Hill, formerly prior of Laund. His will was proved 17 Oct., 1541 (P.C.C. 34 Alenger). He bequeathed his body to the collegiate church, to lie in the south chapel near the tomb of Sacheverell and lady Hungerford, with various funeral payments on a handsome scale, including 6s. 8d. to Hugh Austen, a singing man, *i.e.*, Hugh Aston, organist and master of the choristers later. He left £120 for a yearly obit and a priest to sing mass for him, with the usual stipend of five marks yearly for Richard Hickman, his priest. His executor was John Leigh, prebendary of the ninth stall.

129 *Ibid.*, fo. 149 *d.* See also list of prebendaries of the tenth prebend.

130 Reg. ix, fo. 365 131 *Ibid.*, fo. 376.

132 *Ibid.*, fo. 378 : see *Cal. Pat.* 1361-4, p. 107. For the recovery of presentation by the Crown cf. the two presentations to the third prebend in 1361. See also the list for the eleventh prebend.

133 Institution not recorded : possibly the same person as Adam Bernarde.

134 Reg. xiv, fo. 150.

135 *Ibid.*, fo. 198. Thyndene=Finedon, Northants.

136 Reg. xvii, fo. 42.

137 Mentioned only in 1440, *Vis. Rel. Houses dio. Lincoln* II, 188. See p 111 above. He succeeded John Dey (see list for the seventh prebend) as rector of Wigston, 5 May, 1441 (Reg. xviii, fo. 154 *d*). The church was vacant, no reason given, 7 June, 1445 (*ibid.*, fo. 159).

138 No institution recorded. Rector of St. Stephen's Walbrook, London, which he exch. with Thomas Suthwell (see list for the fifth prebend) for Byfield, Northants, 3 August, 1423 (Reg. xvi, fo. 67 and *d*). He exch. Byfield for Wigston, 2 August, 1448 (Reg. xviii, fo. 162 *d*), which he res. before 31 January, 1458-9 (Reg. xx, fo. 203).

1461, 2 June. Thomas Franceys, chaplain, pres. by the Crown, on the death of John Everdon.[139]

1464, 15 Sept. Master John Dorman, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of Thomas Fraunces.[140]

1485, 15 June. Master Walter Barbour, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master John Dorman.[141]

1500-1, 11 Feb. Master Robert Fulshurst, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master Walter Barbour.[142]

1514, 30 June. Henry Redyng, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Robert Falehurst (*sic*) with an annual pension of five marks.[143]

1530, 22 Nov. Master Richard Parker, U.I.B., pres. by the Crown, on the death of the previous incumbent.[144]

1533-4, 6 March. Robert Duckett, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master Richard Parker.[145]

1536, 10 July. Master Thomas Leson, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the death of the last incumbent.[146]

1539, 9 June. Master John Lye, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master Thomas Leson.[147]

139 Reg. xx, fo. 215 : see *Cal. Pat.* 1461-7, p. 13. Rector of Blaby, 14 December, 1420 (Reg. xvi, fo. 89 *d*) : he exch. for Rearsby 5 May, 1424 (*ibid.*, fo. 102 *d*).

140 Reg. xx, fo. 217. Rector of Belgrave, 6 March, 1473-4 (Reg. xxi, fo. 66), which he held till his death (*ibid.*, fo. 208 *d*).

141 Reg. xxi, fo. 209 *d*. See also list of prebendaries of the twelfth prebend.

142 Reg. xxiii, fo. 241. 143 Reg. xxv, fo. 3 *d*. 144 Reg. xxvii, fo. 139.

145 *Ibid.*, fo. 142. Rector of Glenfield in 1534-5 (*Val. Ecc.* iv, 186). His will, undated, was proved 20 May, 1538. It contains directions for his burial in the collegiate church : he left to each of the canons a colt or a steer, and 3s. 4d. to each of the vicars. His executors were the dean and John Osborn, prebendary of the eleventh stall, and Nicholas Bradshawe, prebendary of the third stall, was one of the witnesses. At his death the executors of sir Richard Sacheverell owed him 20 marks, and a sum of about £20 was due from the earl of Huntingdon. The will includes bequests to the churches of Braunstone, Kirby Muxloe and Glenfield (P.C.C. 9 Crumwell).

146 *Ibid.*, fo. 144. He was rector of Castle Ashby, Northants, and apparently a clerk in the service of Thomas Cromwell, whom he appointed supervisor of his last will, proved 20 Oct., 1539, with a bequest of £100. He desired to be buried either at Packington or in the collegiate church. His bequests to parish churches were widely scattered—Castle Ashby, Packington, Kegworth, Tatenhill, co. Stafford, Bentham and Ingleton, Yorks., and Upwell, Norfolk. He also left £10 to Balliol college, Oxford, 'for the making of their vestry there' (P.C.C. 32 Dyngeley).

147 *Ibid.*, fo. 148. Called Leigh, Leighe, in 1546, 1548 (*R. and P.* xxx, 529, 539).

9.—CANONS, PREBENDARIES OF THE NINTH PREBEND

1355-6, 24 March. John Ingrithe of Burton Overy, priest, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[148]

1377, 19 May. John Taillour [of Pulteneye], pres. by John, king of Castile and Leon, duke of Lancaster, on exch. of a mediety of the church of Misterton with John of Burton.[149]

1382, 22 Aug. Walter Hanloo, pres, by John, king of Castile, etc., on exch. of a canonry and the prebend of Taunton in Wells with John of Pulteneye.[150]

——, ——. James Belmare.[151]

1404, 2 June. John Charyte, chaplain, pres. by the Crown, on death of James Belmare.[152]

——, ——. William Potter or Chell.[153]

1441, 1 Aug. William Langham, on exch. of the chantry of Manton, Rutland, with William Potter or Chell.[154]

1471-2, 2 Jan. Master Thomas Gowsill, S.T.B., pres. by Thomas Buxhale and Richard Sapcote, kts., for this turn, on the death of William Langham.[155]

1489-90, 26 Feb. Roger Parkehille, chaplain, pres. by queen Elizabeth, Thomas, archbishop of York, and Thomas, earl of Derby, on the death of master Thomas Gouxhille.[156]

1500, 5 Aug. Master William Penett, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master John (*sic*) Perkhill.[157]

1500-1, 3 March. Master Robert Wencelaght, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master William Pennett.[158]

148 Reg., ix, fo. 364 *d*. Called John of Burton in a mortmain licence of 1368 (p. 2 above).

149 Reg. x, fo. 267 and *d*. Poultney, to which John Taillour belonged, is in the parish of Misterton. John of Pulteneye was inst. to a mediety of Misterton 29 January, 1361-2 (Reg. ix, fo. 378 *d*).

150 Reg. x, fo. 278 *d*. Inst. at Evercreech by the bishop of Bath and Wells, by commission of 4 August.

151 Institution not recorded.

152 Reg. xiii, fo. 202 *d* : see list of prebendaries of the second prebend. Rector of Glenfield 7 November, 1415 (Reg. xiv, fo. 181 *d*). Glenfield was vacant, no cause given, 22 Oct., 1422 (Reg. xvi, fo. 92 *d*).

153 Institution not recorded. He held the prebend at Alnwick's visitation in 1440.

154 Reg. xviii, ff. 127 *d*, 128. He succeeded Robert Matfen (see list of prebendaries of the eleventh prebend) at North Luffenham, 13 August, 1461 (Reg. xx, fo. 179).

155 Reg. xx, fo. 225 *d*, where the prebend is named wrongly as the eleventh. Gowsill exch. the vicarage of Thaxted, Essex, for Aylestone, 29 September, 1464 (*ibid.*, fo. 218 and *d*), which he held till his death (*ibid.*, fo. 211 *d*, where he is called Golsall). He is not among the vicars of Thaxted in Newcourt ii, 581.

156 Reg. xxii, ff. 211 *d*, 212. 157 Reg. xxiii, fo. 239.

158 *Ibid.*, fo. 241 *d*.

1501, 5 Aug. Master Edward Burton, S.T.B., pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Robert Wencelaghte.[159]

1546-7, 23 March. John Hurtt, clerk, pres. by Michael Purfey and Robert Banaster, gents., by grant of the Crown, on the death of master Edward Burton.[160]

10.—CANONS, PREBENDARIES OF THE TENTH PREBEND

1355-6, 24 March. Simon of Thyngdene, priest, pres. by Henry duke of Lancaster.[161]

——, ——. John Claypole.[162]

1421, 10 Sept. John Gaddesby, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the death of John Claypole.[163]

1452-3, 8 March. Master Thomas Fayrecloghe, D.Th., pres. by queen Margaret, on the death of John Gaddesby.[164]

1453, 3 April. John Harmesthorpe, chaplain, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of Thomas Fayrecloghe.[165]

——, ——. Master John Fyssher.[166]

1465, 11 Nov. William Thoresby, priest, pres. by the Crown, on exch. of the church of Knaptoft with master John Fyssher.[167]

1476, 1 April. Walter Diotson, priest, pres. by sir William Hastynges, lord Hastynges, by grant of the Crown, on the death of master William Thorsby.[168]

1506, 22 Aug. Peter Gerrard, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the death of Walter Dyotson.[169]

159 *Ibid.*, fo. 243 *d*. Executor of the will of James Nicholson, prebendary of the third prebend in 1526 (P.C.C. 16 Hogen). Rector of Burton Overy and Redmile in 1534-5 (*Val. Ecc*, iv, 160, 167). He was instituted to Burton Overy 26 June, 1514 (Reg. xxv, fo. 37).

160 Reg. xxvii, fo. 155. Called Harte in 1548, when he occupied the house previously occupied by Burton (*R. and P.* xxx, 529, 539).

161 Reg. ix, fo. 365. Thyngdene=Finedon, Northants.

162 Institution not recorded. Rector of Normanton-on-Soar, Notts., which he exch. for the church of Blaby, 24 Feb. (Reg. xiv, fo. 167 and *d*).

163 Reg. xvi, fo. 91 *d*. 164 Reg. xx, fo. 204 *d*. 165 *Ibid.*, fo. 205.

166 Institution not recorded. He had collation of Asfordby church 13 February, 1462-3, when he was official in the archdeaconry of Leicester (*ibid.*, fo. 216 *d*).

167 *Ibid.*, fo. 219.

168 Reg. xxi, fo. 72. For an error in the register at this period see list of prebendaries of the thirteenth prebend.

169 Reg. xxiii, fo. 255 *d*. Will proved 9 Nov., 1528. To be buried for preference in the parish church of Ormskirk, co. Lancaster, to which he bequeathed £20 for the building of St. Mary Magdalene's chapel (P.C.C. 39 Porche). He was apparently a native of Ormskirk, the birthplace of his brother Miles, at whose death in 1522 he inherited the manors of Bickerstaffe and Aughton (*V.C.H. Lancs.* iii, 303).

1528, 17 Sept. John Vyncent, clerk, pres. by Richard Sacheverell, kt., and John Fowler, gent., by grant of the Crown, on the death of master Peter Gerrard.[170]

1535, 20 April. Richard Fowler, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of John Vyncent with an annual pension of four marks.[171]

11.—CANONS, PREBENDARIES OF THE ELEVENTH PREBEND

1355-6, 24 March. Thomas of Longwatton, priest, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[172]

1361, 5 Sept. Richard of Tatenhulle, priest, pres. by dame Maud of Lancaster, countess of Hainault, etc., on the death of Thomas of Whatton. Re-admitted 1361-2, 1 Jan., on the pres. of the Crown.[173]

1401, 6 Sept. Adam Popilton, Th.B., pres. by the Crown, on the death of Richard Tatnel.[174]

1403, 17 Sept. William Hawe, pres. by the Crown, on the death of Adam Popilton.[175]

1406, 13 April. Master Thomas Welbourne, priest, pres. by the Crown, on exch.. of St. Martin's preb. in Lincoln cathedral with William Hawe.[176]

——, ——. Robert Matfen.[177]

1461, 17 June. Edmund Brownyng, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the demise of Thomas (*sic*) Matfen.[178]

——, ——. Master John Rede.[179]

170 Reg. xxvii, fo. 138. See also list of prebendaries of the seventh prebend.

171 *Ibid.*, fo. 143. Dean of St. Mary's-in-the-Castle in 1534-5 (*Val. Ecc.* iv, 171). In his will, proved 12 Nov., 1558, he left 30s. to 'the old bedehouse' and 4s. out of a house in Leicester for a yearly obit at Wyggeston's hospital. He was rector of Clipsham in Rutland, where he desired to be buried (P.C.C. 73 Noodes).

172 Reg. ix, fo. 365. Longwatton=Long Whatton.

173 *Ibid.*, ff. 376, 378. For similar indications of recoveries of presentations by the Crown at this time see lists for the third and eighth prebends. Tatenhulle probably=Tatenhill, Staffs. Richard exch. the church of Tarrant Hinton, Dorset, for Beeby, 14 Feb., 1389-90 (Reg. xi, fo. 214 *d*) and seems to have been rector of Beeby till his death.

174 Reg. xiii, fo. 194 *d*. 175 *Ibid.*, fo. 201. 176 Reg. xiv, fo. 141 *d*.

177 Institution not recorded: he held this prebend at Alnwick's visitation in 1440. Rector of North Luffenham, Rutland, 29 September, 1417 (Reg. xiv, fo. 269), and of Elmesthorpe, 15 January, 1443-4 (Reg. xviii, fo. 156 *d*). North Luffenham was vacant by his death before 13 August, 1461. (Reg. xx, fo. 179). He was also master of St. Leonard's hospital, Leicester (*Cal. Papal Letters* ix, 69).

178 Reg. xx, fo. 215: See *Cal. Pat.*, 1461-7, p. 11.

179 Institution not recorded.

1497-8, 7 Jan. Master John Frost, clerk, pres. by the Crown. on the res. of master John Rede.[180]

——, ——. Master Robert Fullehurst.[181]

1500-1, 11 Feb. Master Thomas Mansefelde, clerk, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Robert Fulleshurst.[182]

——, ——. Master John Dale.[183]

1533. John Osborn, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master John Dale with an annual pension of £5.[184]

1544-5, 16 Feb. Master Gabriel Rayne, M.A., pres. by the Crown, on the death of John Osborne[185]

12.—CANONS, PREBENDARIES OF THE TWELFTH PREBEND

1355-6, 24 March. John Coke of Banneby (*sic*), priest, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[186]

1412, 21 Dec. William Mareschalle, chaplain, pres. by the Crown, on the death of John Banbury.[187]

1413, 8 July. William Aslaby, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the death of William Marchalle.[188]

1424, 27 Oct. Master William Browne, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on cxch. of the deanery of Lanchester, co. Durham, with master William Aslakby for this stall and the church of Walton-le-Wolds.[189]

180 Reg. xiii, fo. 231 *d*. Removed to the seventh prebend in May following: see list.

181 Institution not recorded: but probably 1498, May, on the res. of John Frost. Fulhurst, Fulshurst or Falehurst removed to the ninth prebend in 1500-1: see list.

182 Reg. xxiii, fo. 241 and *d*. The will of Thomas Manfelde was proved 24 Sept., 1507, and directs his burial in the collegiate church by the tomb of sir Thomas Rookeby. One of the vicars, Richard Sutton, was an executor. The will mentions two parish churches, Narborough and Rugby (P.C.C. 30 Adeane).

183 Institution not recorded: prebendary in 1525.

184 Reg. xxvii, fo. 141 *d*. Executor of the will of Robert Duckett, prebendary of the eighth stall (P.C.C. 9 Crumwell). He was rector of Sibson in 1534-5 (*Val. Ecc.* iv, 180). His will is dated 26 Sept., 1543 (Archidiac. Leices. bundle for 1543). To be buried in the collegiate church with a double obit at his funeral. Nicholas Bradshaw, prebendary of the third stall, to whom he bequeathed a silver salt-cover, six silver spoons, 'my syde gown faced with russet and my best short gown', was executor. He left to Sibson church a printed antiphoner and a missal. Inventory of goods made 16 Jan., 1543-4 by Richard Fowler, prebendary of the tenth stall, valued at £7 7s. 10d. net, after deduction of legacies, etc.

185 *Ibid.*, fo. 153 *d*.

186 Reg. ix, fo. 365. Banneby=Banbury. He is called John of Banbery in a mortmain licence of 1368. See p. 84 above.

187 Reg. xiv, fo. 171. 188 *Ibid.*, ff. 176 *d*, 177.

189 Lambeth Reg. Chichele, i, fo. 249 *d*: see *Cal. Pat.*, 1422-9, p. 231.

1425, 19 June. Master Thomas Hille, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master William Browne.[190]

1431, 18 Dec. Henry Rose, priest, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on the res. of Thomas Hill.[191]

1455-6, 13 Jan. Richard Belle, chaplain, pres. by queen Margaret, on the death of Henry Roos.[192]

1482, 8 Nov. James Leytice, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the death of Richard Bell.[193]

1484, 3 Aug. Lawrence Squyer, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the death of James Letys.[194]

1485, 24 Sept. Master Walter Barbour, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of Lawrence Squyer.[195]

1488-9, 26 Feb. Hugh Loverede, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Walter Barbour.[196]

1492-3, 22 March. William Ilkestone, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of Hugh Loverede with an annual pension of five marks.[197]

1515, 12 Aug. Master William Gillot, M.A., pres. by the Crown, on the death of master William Iklstone (*sic*).[198]

13. CANONS, PREBENDARIES OF THE THIRTEENTH PREBEND

1355-6, 24 March. John Unfrey of Barkby, priest, pres. by Henry, duke of Lancaster.[199]

190 Reg. xvi, fo. 103. See list of prebendaries of the seventh stall.

191 Reg. xvii, fo. 37. See list of prebendaries of the seventh stall, which Rose vacated to give Walesby his qualification for the deanery. Rose was re-admitted to Hill's prebend, Hill taking the prebend which Walesby vacated on becoming dean.

192 Reg. xx, fo. 217.

193 Reg. xxii, fo. 205.

194 *Ibid.*, fo. 207 *d.* Squyer's letters of presentation are printed by Nichols, *Hist. Leices.*, i, app. p. 112.

195 *Ibid.*, fo. 208 *d.* See also list of prebendaries of the eighth prebend, from which it appears that Barbour held two prebends together from September 1485 to February, 1488-9.

196 *Ibid.*, fo. 211.

197 *Ibid.*, fo. 215 *d.* Ilkestone's will, proved 16 Aug., 1515, directs his burial in the collegiate church with payments of 20d. to each canon, 8d. to each vicar, clerk and to the verger, 6d. to each chantry chaplain and 4d. to each chorister. His executors were James Nicolson and John Dale, prebendaries of the third and eleventh stalls (Reg. Archidiac. Leices., 1515-1526, fo. 5).

198 Reg. xxv, fo. 37 *d.* Rector of Hathern and vicar of Barrow-on-Soar in 1534-5 (*Val. Ecc.* iv, 178). He was instituted to Barrow 4 Aug., 1526 (*Quorndon Records*, p. 445). At Hathern he had succeeded William Fisher, the first master of Wyggeston's Hospital, between 1530 and 1536.

199 Reg. ix, fo. 365.

1361, 6 Oct. William Smythe of Leicester, priest, pres. by dame Maud of Lancaster, countess of Hainault, etc., on the death of John of Barkeby. Re-admitted 1361-2, 7 Jan., on the pres. of the Crown.[200]

——, ——. William of Swepstone.[201]

1393, 21 July. John Credelynge, priest, pres. by John, duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, on the death of William of Swepstone.[202]

1395, 16 April. Master Geoffrey Wyke, S.P.P., pres. by John, duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, on the demise of John of Credlynge.[203]

1397-8, 24 Jan. William of Knighton, pres. by John, duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, on exch. of the church of Deene, Northants, with master Geoffrey Wyke for this stall and the church of Spaxton, Somerset.[204]

1399, 27 Aug. John Newton, chaplain, pres. by John, duke of Lancaster, on the death of William Knyghton.[205]

1406, 25 Sept. William of Repyngdon, pres. by the Crown, on exch. of Erdington prebend in the free chapel of St. Mary Magdalene, Bridgnorth, with John Newton.[206]

1435, 18 Oct. Roger Fysshewyke, pres. by Katherine, queen dowager, on the death of William Repyngtone.[207]

200 *Ibid.*, ff. 376 *d*, 378 : see *Cal. Pat.*, 1361-4, p. 108, and for the recovery of the presentation by the Crown cf. lists for the third, eighth and eleventh prebends. A Crown presentation of Andrew of Bournham, made on 11 May, 1361 (*ibid.*, p. 18) does not seem to have taken effect.

201 Institution not recorded, but probably before November, 1337 (see a reference to him, p. 84 above). He was rector of Abkettleby, where he succeeded Robert of Nenton (see list for the fifth prebend), 30 June, 1378 (Reg. x, fo. 269 and *d*). He exch. Abkettleby for the church of Cossington, 7 October, 1388 (Reg. xi, fo. 210 *d*). He died rector of Cossington, 8 July, 1393 (*ibid.*, fo. 225 *d*).

202 Reg. xi, fo. 225.

203 *Ibid.*, fo. 228 *d*.

204 *Ibid.*, ff. 236 *d*, 237. This was William Wylughby of Knighton : see list of prebendaries of the second prebend. Wyke exch. Deene for a prebend in Wimborne minster, 29 June, 1402 (Reg. xiii, fo. 227 *d*).

205 Reg. xiii, fo. 189.

206 Reg. xiv, ff. 143 *d*, 144. Repyngdon=Repton, Derbyshire. His preferments were very numerous, including prebends in several churches. He exch. the church of Herringswell, dio. Norwich, for that of Abkettleby, 1 January, 1395-6 (Reg. xi, fo. 231), but res. Abkettleby on his inst. to Husbands Bosworth, 23 August, 1396 (*ibid.*, fo. 233 and *d*). He exch. Balsham, Cambs., for Kibworth, 2 Jan., 1415-6 (Reg. xiv, fo. 182), which he vacated by death in 1435 (Reg. xvii, fo. 44 *d*).

207 Reg. xvii, fo. 44 and *d*. See pp. 107-108, 124, 184 above. Rector of Clipsham, Rutland, 7 December, 1439 (Reg. xviii, fo. 121) : he res. Elmesthorpe before 21 October, 1439 (*ibid.*, fo. 148 *d*), and Clipsham before 2 November, 1440 (*ibid.*, fo. 124 *d*).

1453, 3 April. Master Thomas Fayrecloghe, pres. by queen Margaret, on the death of Roger Fysshewyke.[208]

1457, 10 Nov. Master Richard Fayrecloghe, priest, pres. by queen Margaret, on the res. of master Thomas Fayrecloghe.[209]

——, ——. Master Geoffrey Forklowe (*i.e.* Fayrecloghe).[210]

1472, 5 Aug. Master William Dudley, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Geoffrey Forklowe.[211]

1476, 12 Oct. Master William Chauntre, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Geoffrey Fayrcloghe.[212]

1476, 20 Oct. Master Geoffrey Fayrcloghe, priest, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master William Chauntre, now dean.[213]

1476-7, 20 Jan. Master Robert Prudde, pres. by John Hulcote, esq., and Richard Isham, gent., on the death of master Geoffrey Fayrcloghe.[214]

1487, 31 March. Master Christopher Lyttone, pres. by the Crown, on the death of master Robert Proude.[215]

1487, 6 Nov. Master Thomas Chapman, pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Christopher Lyttone.[216]

1501, 8 Oct. Master Thomas Wigston, S.T.B., pres. by the Crown, on the res. of master Thomas Chapman with an annual pension of £5.[217]

1537, 12 Aug. Master William Weston, clerk, pres. by John Weston, grantee of the Crown, by grant of his co-grantees, Francis Hastyngs, kt., and John Beamounte, esq., on the death of master Thomas Wigston.[218]

[208] Reg. xx, fo. 205. [209] *Ibid.*, fo. 211 *d.*

[210] Institution not recorded.

[211] Reg. xxi, fo. 63. As Dudley became dean on 17 August, it is clear that Geoffrey Fayrecloghe (Fairclough) had vacated the prebend, as Redman had vacated the fifth, and Rose the seventh, prebends in favour of Andrew and Walesby respectively, to allow Dudley to qualify for the deanery. Fairclough was evidently restored to his prebend on 17 August, and resigned it again in 1476 to give Chauntre his qualification as dean.

[212] Reg. xxi, fo. 71, where the prebend is wrongly given as the tenth. Fayrecloghe returned to his prebend on the day of Chauntre's admission to the deanery.

[213] *Ibid.* [214] *Ibid.*, fo. 72. [215] Reg. xxii, fo. 210 *d.*

[216] *Ibid.*, fo. 210. Executor of the last will of William Hill, merchant, proved 15 Oct., 1496 (P.C.C. 1 Horne).

[217] Reg. xxiii, ff. 243 *d*, 244. For some account of his will see p. 203 above. In addition to the rectory of Houghton-on-the-Hill, he held in 1534-5 the church of Aylestone (*Val. Ecc.* iv, 186).

[218] Reg. xxvii, fo. 145.

In addition to the names given above, there are three holders of prebends whose stalls cannot be identified with certainty. These are as follows:—

(1) 1382, 21 April. Thomas Brythewell, D.Th., pres. by John, king of Castile and Leon, etc., to the prebend void by the death of Robert of Broughton.[219]

(2) 1397, 6 Sept. Robert Burgeys, priest, pres. by John, duke of Aquitaine and Lancaster, to the prebend void by the death of John Dalton.[220]

(3) 1496, 27 Nov. Master Robert Middleton, LL.D., pres. by the Crown to a vacant prebend.[221]

In the cases of (1) and (2) the institutions occur during a period in which, as again towards the middle of the fifteenth century, the record of institutions was carelessly kept. The admission in 1382 may refer to one of five, or possibly of six prebends. These are the third, sixth, seventh, tenth and thirteenth, and possibly the eighth. On the whole, the seventh prebend seems not unlikely. Robert of Broughton, who died in 1382, may be the same person as Robert atte More, instituted to that prebend in 1379-80; and William Hayton, who resigned in 1397, may have succeeded Brythewelle or Brightewell, in the prebend, when Brythewelle was promoted to the deanery at a date unrecorded.

Although the choice is more limited in the case of (2), the difficulty is harder to solve. The vacant prebends to choose from are the third, ninth, tenth, and possibly the eighth; but to none of these can John Dalton and Robert Burgeys be fitted with any good reason.

In (3), Robert Middleton held his prebend only eight days, in order to qualify for the deanery; and it is fairly certain that, as had happened in the instances of his predecessors Walesby, Andrewe, Dudley, and Chauntre, an accommodating canon temporarily surrendered his stall, so that the postulant for the deanery might fulfil the statutory requirement of being a member of the chapter at the time of his election. There is no indication, however, as to which of the canons performed this kind office in 1496. It is noteworthy that, from the time of Middleton's successor, Stokedall or Stockdale, until the election of the last dean, Robert Bone, there is no record that the deans elect took any trouble to qualify as canons.

[219] Reg. x, fo. 277 *d.* [220] Reg. xi, fo. 236. [221] Reg. xxiii, fo. 229.

There is also a presentation by the Crown of master Geoffrey Wren to a prebend, 4 Sept., 1514.[222] This may have been the sixth prebend, but he was not instituted. Wren, clerk of the king's closet, was rector of Hanslope and Loughborough in 1513[223] and of St. Margaret's, New Fish Street, London, 1512-1527,[224] and possibly also of St. Michael, Queenhithe.[225] In 1513 he held the prebends of Curborough in Lichfield, in 1511 and 1512-1527,[227], South Cave 1508-1512 and Knaresborough 1512-1527, both in York,[228] and was canon of Windsor 1513-1527, where he died 5 April, 1527, and was buried in St. George's chapel.[229] His will was proved 7 Feb., 1527-8: his executors were two other canons of Windsor, Richard Sydnor, archdeacon of Totnes, and Gamaliel Clifton, afterwards dean of Hereford.[230]

No lists of vicars-choral or of chantry-priests are possible, as the college registers in which their admissions should have been recorded no longer exist. From the records of visitations, however, we can recover the names of those who were in the college in its latest days, and with these can be compared the names derived from the Chantry certificate of 1546 and the Ministers' account of 1549.

In 1525 twelve vicars mentioned in order as answering the dean's interrogatories were John Bromehall, Richard Sutton, Richard Smyth, William Mosse, John Liderland, Thomas Hurderon, John Butchard, Thomas Rigmayden, Richard Hardgrave, William Harvy, William Rede, John Dalderby. The thirteenth name is missing.

In 1528 all thirteen are named, but Bromehall, Hurderon, Butchard, Hardgrave and Dalderby have disappeared. Thomas Rigmayden appears as 'Readmayn'. The new names are Thomas

222 *L. and P. Hen. VIII,* i, 1398 (no. 3324-4).

223 *Ibid.*, i, 182 (no. 388).

224 Hennessy, *Nov. Rep.*, p. 275.

225 *L. and P. Hen. VIII,* i, 182, u.s.

226 *Ibid.*, i, 822 (no. 1803). He was presented to Loughborough by the Crown, 17 May, 1509 (*ibid.*, i, 29 : no. 54 (20), and to Hanslope 10 June in the same year (*ibid.*, i, 51 : no. 94 (54).

227 Le Neve i, 594.

228 *Ibid.*, iii, 197, 212. His presentation to South Cave by the Crown bears date 4 Sept., 1509 (*L. and P. Hen. VIII,* i, 95 : 190(5)). He is said to have been prebendary of Barnby in 1513 (*L. and P. Hen. VIII,* i, 182, u.s.), but of this the registers at York afford no confirmation, and his prebend at this time was certainly Knaresborough.

229 Le Neve iii, 391.

230 P.C.C. 27 Porch. There is an account of Wren in the late Rev. W. G. D. Fletcher's *The Rectors of Loughborough.*

Bexwyk, John Smyth, John Colyn, John Capp, Thomas Clark, Richard Peerson and John Heblen.

For the vicars-choral at the dissolution of the college see page 221 above. All except Bexwyk are new names since 1528. Four seem to have combined the duties of chantry-priests with those of vicars-choral.

The chantry-priests in 1525 were John Williamson, Thomas Marshall, Thomas Cooper, Nicholas Haywarde, William Wilson, John Brewer and William Scott. Five of these names occur in 1528, when 'John' is probably an error for 'William' Wilson. George Scarsbrig takes the place of Brewer. In the chantry certificates returned in 1546, William Wilson was chaplain of Mary Hervy's chantry, John Hardy and Humphrey Gillot were chaplains of the Wigston chantry, William Blakwall and Thomas Marshall of John of Gaunt's chantry, Richard Waterworthe of Bedale's chantry. Richard Elvet's chantry-priest is not named,[231] but George Scarisbrick (Scaresbrydge) served the chantry in 1534-5 and was among the chantry-priests who survived the dissolution, together with Wilson, Marshall, Hardy and Blakwall.[232] The names of Gillot and Waterworthe are superseded by those of Richard Pedder and William Maunesfelde.[233]

The following wills of vicars-choral and chantry-priests may also be noted from the probate registers of the archdeaconry of Leicester :—

1517. John Yngham, will dated and proved 28 May. To be buried within the cloister of Newarke; 10s. for dole to the poor; unspecified provision for the customary obit. Supervisor, William Harvy, vicar, to whom testator bequeathed his cope, hood and surplice. Thomas Davy, Robert Marshall, chantry-priest, were among the witnesses (Reg. 1515-1526, ff. 97, 339).

1521. Thomas Glen, chantry-priest, will dated 2 May, proved 11 May. To be buried at the discretion of the dean or his lieutenant. His best surplice bequeathed to the church of Aylestone. Witnesses, Andrew Puttrell, Richard Sutton, vicar, and William Chaplayn, possibly William Scott, chantry-priest (*ibid.* fo. 289).

231 *Reports and Papers,* xxx, 527, etc.

232 Hardy was also vicar of St. Mary's.

233 See page 249 above.

1526. Richard Smyth, vicar, will dated 15 Sept. To be buried within the cloister of the college. Fourpence to the poor-box of the bede-house. His best surplice, cap and tippet to William Scott, chantry-priest.

1538-9. William Reyd, vicar, will dated 18 Jan., 1538-9. To be buried within the cloister 'nigh unto the holy water stock'. Two shillings in bread, wine, ale and cheese for his wake. Funeral payments on simple obit scale (dean 2s., canons 12d. each, vicars and three clerks 6d. each, chantry-priests, fourth clerk, master of the choristers, and verger 4d. each, choristers 3d. each, clerks of the revestry and 'Symkyn Awltar', 1d. each). To the precentor for wax 16d., to the poor-box 5s. 1d., for digging the grave 6d., to William Tybson (probably the bedehouse chaplain) 4d. 20s. for two trentals in the college. Thomas Rigmayden, vicar, was appointed supervisor and witnessed the will with three other vicars, Thomas Clerke, John Dalderbe and John Myddulton. Inventory, made 1 April, 1539, by four vicars, John Lidderland, Thomas Milner, John Myddulton and John Hardy, valued the testator's goods at £7 12s. 6d. net.

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[The numerals after the names of canons denote the number of the prebendal stall held by each. Places whose names are not followed by those of the counties to which they belong are in Leicestershire.]

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